THE ARTIST IN MODERN GERMAN DRAMA

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1938

RALPH STOKES COLLINS

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Maryville College,
Maryville, Tennessee
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I. INTRODUCTION

The artist appears as a dramatic figure in many plays of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Germany. Goethe's Tasso and Grillparzer's Sappho have stood among the more important and meaningful dramatic productions of German literature.

The great number of plays about artists is due to an increasing self-consciousness in poets of the modern era of their particular position in society as observers of life and reproducers of it in art. Klopstock's announcement of his intention of seeking no other profession than that of poet was a signal of the independence of the modern artist. The "Sturm und Drang" emphasis on the "Genie" included an exaltation of the poet-genius. From that time the subjectivity of the artist has increased; in the Romantic period the artist becomes problematic, and, more recently, the Nietzschean analysis of decadence has exposed all artists to the suspicion of being weak and morbid. Modern psychoanalysis has added to the problematic aspects of the artist.

It should be understood that the word "artist" is here used in its broadest meaning, to include all those who devote themselves to creating or reproducing in word, color, form or rhythm the world as they see and experience it. Poets, painters, musicians, sculptors and actors are all represented in modern drama. They exhibit common problems and interests, and we consider them together under the one name of "artist."

It is the purpose of this investigation to study the artist figures of modern German drama since 1890 from the standpoint of individual authors, of literary movements and of recurrent motifs. Such an analysis will, it is hoped, offer a greater insight into the development and trends of modern German drama.

Studies of the artist in German drama have been made of the period up to Hebbel and Wagner. Two such investigations appeared almost simultaneously, by

Helene Goldschmidt[1] and by Erna Levy.[2] A study of the plastic artist in German literature has been given by Käte Laserstein,[3] in which she does not restrict herself completely to the plastic artist. This present analysis should help to complete the picture, though purposes may differ.

In general, Goldschmidt and Levy have the same outline of procedure. Goethe's Tasso, the Romantic period, Grillparzer's Sappho, Young Germany and Hebbel or Wagner are the chief divisions of their studies. Levy emphasizes the more important artist-dramas and attempts a characterization of the periods. Goldschmidt brings more material but does not produce as clear a picture as Levy.

The study of Miss Levy is concerned with the so-called artist problem, which she analyzes as a conflict between the artist and the world of reality. In the Romantic period the world of art is raised above the world of reality, and the artist becomes the object of almost religious worship. In Young Germany the questions of the real world are more important, and the artist devotes himself in a position of leadership to an attempt to solve the problems of the time.

Goethe finds the synthesis between these two worlds within himself. Grillparzer shows the unbridgeable abyss between art and life. Hebbel overcomes the conflict through the metaphysical experience of the "idea."

Practically all of the modern movements of German literature owe something to Nietzsche, at least in the particular interpretation given to him by each movement. This is due probably to the important part which art and the artist play in his philosophic ideas.

1. Das deutsche Künstlerdrama von Goethe bis R. Wagner, Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte, LVII, hrsg. v. Dr. Franz Muncker (Weimar, 1925).
2. Die Gestalt des Künstlers im deutschen Drama von Goethe bis Hebbel, Germanische Studien, Heft 68 (Berlin, 1929).
3. Die Gestalt des bildenden Künstlers in der Dichtung, Stoff- und Motivgeschichte der deutschen Literatur, 12, hrsg. v. Merker und Lüdtke (Berlin und Leipzig, 1931).

Although he was one of the first to find preeminently in the artist signs of decadence, he treasured art as the justification of human existence and assigned to it the role of developing the strong man of the future.[4]

In the dedication of Geburt der Tragödie to Richard Wagner Nietzsche states:

> Diesen Ernsthaften diene zur Belehrung, dass ich von der Kunst als der höchsten Aufgabe und der eigentlich metaphysischen Thätigkeit dieses Lebens im Sinne des Mannes überzeugt bin, dem ich hier, als meinem erhabenen Vorkämpfer auf dieser Bahn, diese Schrift gewidmet haben will.[5]

The break with Wagner caused a temporary decrease of emphasis on the value of art, and Nietzsche began to attack Wagner as a decadent and very problematic artist. Nietzsche considers himself the analyst of the modern decadence in art, and he sees in all modern art sickness and morbidity. The artist is identified with sickness.[6]

The general plan of this study is indicated by the purpose of characterizing groups and literary movements and ascertaining important recurrent themes and problems. The movements of modern literature follow each other so closely and overlap so much that it is necessary to proceed carefully in any attempt at classification. Taking the three movements of most consequence for this investigation, Naturalism, Neo-romanticism and Expressionism, we shall try to find out whether there is a definite type of artist portrayed in the drama of each. This does not mean that all the authors here treated will be immediately classified into these three divisions. That would be very difficult and add nothing but confusion to the attempt of determining the essential nature of the artist-portrayal typical to each movement. We restrict ourselves, therefore, in the

4. See Ernesta Calmberg, Die Auffassung vom Beruf des Künstlers im Weltbild deutscher Dichtung zwischen Nietzsche und George (Tübingen dissertation, Würzburg, 1936), pp. 36-42.
5. Nietzsche, Werke Leipzig, 1904 , I Abt., 1 Bd., p. 18.
6. See Calmberg, pp. 36-42.

three main chapters to an analysis of the main authors generally recognized as belonging in a particular movement, indicating in some cases, with Hauptmann, for instance, how a certain author exceeds the limits of the movement. The analysis of these three movements will, however, give a basis for the interpretation of the plays discussed in the succeeding chapters under the caption of individual problems.

The problems treated in these chapters will be: the artist as a member of society, the Boheme, the actor and the traditional art-life problem, which almost always takes the form of a conflict between art and love.

A succeeding chapter will treat the plays which have taken historical figures of artists, especially the plays which have not been emphasized in the previous discussion. This chapter will, in its very nature, touch upon all the themes already mentioned.

This investigation does not lay claim to completeness. Some plays belonging to this study may have escaped the author's attention altogether. Others were intentionally omitted because they added nothing or because of their inferior quality. However, the Loewenberg Collection of Modern German Drama at the Johns Hopkins University Library made it possible to examine a great wealth of material, making at least near-completeness attainable.

II. NATURALISM AND HAUPTMANN

The Naturalistic movement has been compared to the Sturm und Drang because of the revolutionary spirit of its leaders. The young and enthusiastic generation was in revolt against what it considered superficiality and shallowness of a formalistic literature which continued to build upon an outlived classical tradition.

The less radically Naturalistic group of Munich, centering around Michael Georg Conrad, Karl Bleibtreu, Otto Julius Bierbaum, Ernst von Wolzogen and Hanns von Gumppenberg, who published the literary revue Die Gesellschaft, directed its attacks toward the pseudo-classical group of Munich poets headed by Paul Heyse. Turgenjew, Dostojewski, Tolstoi, Björnson, Ibsen and Victor Hugo were cited as authors who represented the modern spirit so much lacking in Dahn, Heyse, Freytag and Spielhagen. Emile Zola was, however, the main object of enthusiasm, although Nietzsche, Wagner and Böcklin were exalted to a position of almost equal rank. The Naturalistic movement in Munich was mainly interested in the novel, and they succeeded in attracting the northern Max Kretzer to Munich, where he was acclaimed as the German Zola because of his naturalistic novels. Conrad also wrote in the same form.

The Berlin group of Naturalistic poets was more interested in the drama. The Kritische Waffengänge (1882) of the Hart brothers were directed against the mediocrity of the literature of the times, its shallowness and false sweetness, but they also lamented the inferiority of the theater in Germany. The stage was held by imitations of Schiller pathos in pseudo-classic drama and by popular dramatic trash. German drama was represented by Benedix, Moser, L'Arronge, Lindau, Blumenthal and Philippi. From France after the Franco-Prussian war came a flood of feuilleton and pièce à thèse dramas, especially those of Sardou.

It was these conditions of the German theater which the rapidly forming Naturalistic group of Berlin

wanted to revolutionize. Around the Hart brothers gathered a group which first sought expression for its national and modern feeling in an anthology of lyric poetry Moderne Dichtercharactere (1885). Wilhelm Arent was the editor, and Hermann Conradi and Karl Henckell wrote introductions. Ernst von Wildenbruch, Arno Holz, Karl Henckell, Friedrich Adler, Julius Hart, Heinrich Hart, Erich Hartleben, Oskar Jerschke, and Wilhelm Arent were the principal contributors. The emphasis of the group was on modernity and the social mission of the poet, but the literary product hardly equalled in inherent value the claims of the authors.

The formation of the club "Durch" in Berlin in 1887 represented a further advance in the movement. The attention of the group was directed toward the political movement of socialism at home and toward the literary products of Zola, Tolstoi, Dostojewski and Ibsen abroad. From these four foreign authors came the strongest influence upon German Naturalism. From Zola they learned how the natural sciences could find their place in literature. In Ibsen they found a sharp critic of society. In Dostojewski they found dark, pathological studies in psychology. In Tolstoi they found a faithful mirror of reality.

From this club and from the association of the so-called Friedrichshagen group, including Arno Holz, Johannes Schlaf, Gerhart Hauptmann and the philosopher Bruno Wille, came the formulation of Naturalistic theory by the natural scientist, Wilhelm Bölsche, Die naturwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Poesie (1887). This treatise represents the most balanced and reasonable theories of Naturalism. Arno Holz' theory of "konsequenter Naturalismus" expressed in his Die Kunst Ihr Wesen und Ihre Gesetze (1891) is an extreme, induced by the natural brooding tendency of Holz' mind, and impelled by the rather ambitious desire of going to the limit in the revolution of modern art.

The formation of the "Freie Bühne," in 1889, modelled after the théâtre libre, established by Antoine in Paris in 1887, was the culmination of the attempts to create a new, modern drama. Ibsen's Ghosts supplied the

opening attraction. Vor Sonnenaufgang, as the second presentation, indicated the fruition of the labors for a new drama, for it presented a real dramatist and poet in Gerhart Hauptmann.

In the development of the Naturalistic movement we can see a gradual clarification of its theories and of its ideals. In Munich, Michael Georg Conrad, out of an enthusiasm for Nietzsche and Wagner, assigns to art an importance similar to that given to it by Nietzsche in his dedication of Die Geburt der Tragödie to Wagner. Conrad says, in later reminiscences of the times:

> Der Künstler als Erzieher und Wegleiter, der Künstler als Lebenserkenner und Zukunftsgestalter, das ist die neue und naturalistische Auffassung von der Stellung und Bedeutung des Künstlerischen im Kulturstaate.[1]

This conception of the artist is hardly what we generally think of as defining the Naturalistic artist.

Herman Conradi, in his introduction to Moderne Dichtercharaktere, called "unser Credo," stresses the feeling of national consciousness and the concern of the artist for social problems of modern life. The poet must write not only of the mountain tops but of the dark places of the poverty-stricken and homeless. The poet is still a leader into the future, but he has also the duty of ministering to distressed humanity: "Dann werden die Dichter ihrer wahren Mission sich wieder bewusst werden, Hüter und Heger, Führer und Tröster, Pfadfinder und Weggeleiter, Ärzte und Priester der Menschen zu sein" (p. 111).

Conradi still demands for the poet, however, unrestricted opportunity for development of the individuality. The poet is interested in social problems, but he stands above the immediate questions, in order to serve pure humanity.

1. Michael Georg Conrad, Von Emile Zola bis Gerhart Hauptmann (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 51-52.

> Und doch steht der Dichter auch wieder, eben kraft seines Künstlertums, über den Dingen - über Sonderinteressen und Parteibestrebungen und repräsentiert somit nur das reine, unverfälschte, weder durch raffinierte Überkultur noch durch paradiesische Kulturlosigkeit beeinflusste Menschentum (pp. III-IV).

The Naturalistic group were enthusiastic students of the natural sciences and supporters of the socialistic movements of the time. Results of scientific investigations of the influence of heredity and environment on the individual opened up to these enthusiasts for modern things a vision of order and law in man himself. They agreed with Zola that a novel could be experimental, that the characters of a story should react according to law, just as chemical elements in the hands of the scientist. In Ibsen they found these scientific ideas applied in the drama.

In their attack upon existing social conditions the Naturalists found a sphere of activity within the party movement of socialism, under the strong influence of Marx. The political color of the Naturalists ranged from that of socialism to anarchism. Although his criticism came from a different point of view, the Naturalists believed to find in Nietzsche an ally in their attack upon social evils. That his ideas should have supported their feeling of individualism is easy to understand.

From an attempt to apply the results of the natural sciences to poetry and art comes Bölsche's treatise on the scientific bases of poetry. He conceives of the modern realistic poet as an experimenter who follows the laws of physical reality in his art. Just as the natural scientist uses the laboratory method of finding truth, without any concern for metaphysical speculation, so must the poet also do. This does not mean a denial of the existence of a super-sensual world, but rather a voluntary limitation of the poet's attention to the world of reality as the only world possible of analysis and promising of results. Bölsche says:

> Wir haben gebrochen mit der Metaphysik. Jenseits unseres Erkennens liegt eine andere Welt, aber wir wissen nichts von ihr; unser Ideal, sofern es eine lebendige Macht sein soll, muss irdisch, muss ein Teil von uns sein, muss der Welt angehören, die wir bewohnen, die in uns lebt und webt. Wir haben gebrochen mit den heitern Kindertraümen von Willensfreiheit, von Unsterblichkeit der Seelen in den Grenzen unseres Denkens, von einer göttlichen Liebe, die ein anderes, als das natürliche Dasein lebt (p. 69).

In this quotation are repeated the three questions with which Bölsche deals in showing how poetry should adapt itself to the sciences. The giving up of the idea of free will means for him a gain instead of a loss for the poet, for then only is a truly realistic literature possible. To consider that human actions are a product of natural forces, of heredity, environment and education, gives the poet for the first time the possibility of a truly organic structure of art, which becomes as logical as nature itself (pp. 34-35).

Immortality within the physical world is no longer considered a tenable idea. This means that the poet can direct his full attention to the world about him, in order to discover the laws of harmony in it, which give him his only real knowledge of the world beyond.

In the question of love, Bölsche demands normality and realism. Neither false sentimentality on the one hand nor common sensuality on the other, but healthy and sound feeling is the ideal. Modern investigations into the physical behavior of the forces of sex shall contribute to an understanding of the problems of love.

Bölsche's attitude is one of optimism and faith in modern science. For the speculations of abstract philosophy he would like to see substituted the living reality of a world which has faith in its own destiny. His ideas have a pronounced idealistic direction. In the physical world the principle of harmony and beauty exists, if not yet in complete form, attainable in the future.

He rejects a morbid and pathological interest of literature, but would rather see realities faced frankly and courageously than to see them colored artificially. He says of the realistic poet:

> Wenn er den Blick schweifen lässt über diese ganze Erde, über sein ganzes Geisterreich, so sieht er im Grunde all dieser wechselnden Formen ein einziges grosses Prinzip, nach dem alles strebt, alles ringt: das gesicherte Gleichmass, die fest in beiden Schalen schwebende Wage, den Zustand des Normalen, die Gesundheit (pp. 69-70).

Bölsche points to the dangers of a too slavish imitation of foreign authors. The German poet should study Zola in order to see how he applies the methods and results of modern science to literature, but he should not forget the great traditions of Goethe and Schiller.

Poetry has a mission to perform in society, in which it joins hands with the sciences, that is, to educate humanity, a role which art played in the minds of Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller and the Romanticists.

> Die Poesie wahrt so ihre alte Rolle als Erzieherin des Menschengeschlechts, und indem sie es tut, darf sie hoffen, auf freundlichem Boden sich mit der Naturwissenschaft zu begegnen. Beide reichen sich dann die Hand in dem Bestreben, den Menschen gesund zu machen (p. 93).

The theories of "konsequenter Naturalismus" of Arno Holz represent an extreme which is practically a negation of art itself. Holz's natural inclination to theorizing and his desire to be above all else modern, led him to a formulation of a theory of art which was to represent a complete revolution in the field. He was dissatisfied with Zola's theory of art: "Une oeuvre d'art est un coin de la nature vu à travers un tempérament" - he would like to do away with the "temperament."

From a study of modern positivistic scientists, Mill, Comte, Spencer and others, and from an attempt to apply their methods to the determination of the laws of art, he comes to his definition:

> Die Kunst hat die Tendenz, wieder die Natur zu sein. Sie wird sie nach Massgabe ihrer jedweiligen Reproduktionsbedingungen und deren Handhabung[2]

This definition does away with the subjective artist, and makes art a matter of technique in reproducing nature. The logical conclusion of this theory, in painting, would be a photographic reproduction of nature.

This theory of Holz was not accepted by all of the Naturalistic group. Heinrich Hart, for instance, opposes it by the statement: "Die Kunst hat die Tendenz, die Natur zu erhöhen, zu verfeinern, zu veredeln."[3]

Like Bölsche, Holz also insists upon the application of the results of scientific investigation to literature. He considers it possible that the science of sociology may analyze social phenomena with as much success as other sciences in the realm of nature. Marxian laws of economics represent such a scientific attitude. Art itself should be made into a science, for it follows the same laws of determinism.[4]

In summarizing the tendencies of the various groups of the Naturalistic poets and the ideas which they expressed, we come to a general idea of the concept of the Naturalistic artist. He is in revolt against the superficiality of the times and wants above all to be modern and national. He is interested in social conditions and sometimes identifies himself with the political movements with social objectives. He is intensely interested in the natural sciences and would like to apply their methods in literature. And then there is an insistence upon individualism and freedom of the artist from social restraint. In order to

2. Die Kunst, p. 117.
3. Heinrich Hart, Gesammelte Werke, hrsg. v. Julius Hart (Berlin, 1907), III, 68.
4. Holz, Die Kunst, pp. 87-100.

justify this he points to his mission of serving humanity as an ideal. An abnormal and pathological interest is found among some of the group, but the ideal expressed by Bölsche is one of healthy normality.

When we turn to Naturalistic drama to look for the reflection of these ideas and ideals, we find a rather peculiar situation. There is hardly any portrayal of the Naturalistic artist as such in the dramatic production of the movement. There are the traditional artists, seen from the Naturalistic point of view, and there are other artists who exemplify personal problems and ideals of the authors themselves. We must distinguish, therefore, between the Naturalistic artist as such and the Naturalistic treatment of the traditional artist.

In spite of the fact that they do not contribute directly to an understanding of the Naturalistic artist, the dramas of the latter type can give indirect light on the movement. The attitudes revealed of the authors, the type of problems favored and the personal ideals of the authors offer interesting insights into the nature of Naturalism.

Hauptmann's College Crampton appeared in 1892, a naturalistic study of an artist. His Die versunkene Glocke appeared in 1896, a drama of personal import. These two plays were the first of their kind, and were followed by other Naturalistic dramatists. The Hauptmann influence upon the artist dramas of the period is not hard to detect. There is one play, however, which does not seem to have been influenced by either of the Hauptmann plays, and which gives us the nearest approach to the portrayal of a Naturalistic artist in a Naturalistic drama. This play is Max Dreyer's Winterschlaf (1895).

This play has the motif of a messenger or stranger from the outer world so common to the analytic type of Naturalistic drama, as used by Ibsen and followed by Hauptmann and others. Hans Meincke is this person who comes into the seclusion of a snowbound forester's cabin and causes latent forces of discontent to develop toward a tragic catastrophe. Hans is a young writer of a type

common to the early Naturalistic movement. He has a deep interest in social problems, and he has participated actively in an attempt to improve them.

From his deep-felt sympathy for the suffering people of the lower classes he has gone into their huts or into their places of refuge to give aid and to make studies. On such a mission in Hamburg he has defended an old man against an unjust guard in a free-lodging house, and has been put in jail.

Hans wanders about from one place to another to make sociological studies. The results of his studies he wishes to use as material for a novel, which is to be called "Die Hungernden." We see here that art is made subservient to social purposes of reform. The reformist element was found already strongly expressed in Ibsen, and it continues to be important in early Naturalism in Germany when the alleviation of suffering was considered more important than art itself. Even in Bölsche, art has the mission of promoting healthy life in society.

Georg Hirschfeld's Der junge Goldner (1901) reveals some of the ideals of Naturalism in a more superficial play, born out of an enthusiasm for Hauptmann. The latter is mentioned often by name, is attacked by the older generation and worshipped by the younger generation. Fritz Goldner, young dramatist and critic, leads the fight against the superficiality of a literature which has become a thing for idle amusement. The theater, which had become a place of shallow entertainment for those in search of diversion is to become again a symbol of life and a vehicle of truth. He demands moral seriousness and truthfulness in art:

> Noch immer, solange Menschen leben und dichten, ist nichts Grosses entstanden ohne sittlichen Halt und nichts Wahres ohne Unerbittlichkeit (p. 169).

And again:

> Die moderne Jugend, das sind die Einsamen, die nach der Bedeutung des Wortes suchen, und die

> sich jeder seine Welt auf's Neue schaffen! Für diese Jugend ist euer Theater kein leeres Puppenspiel und keine freche Sinnestäuschung, die sie vom Leben weglocken könnte - für diese Jugend ist es ein hohes Symbol des Lebens, ja das einzige, das sie haben, und das ihnen Freiheit geben kann! (p. 222)

The demand for ethical seriousness is a theme emphasized by Hauptmann. The stress on the "Unerbittlichkeit" in art is common to the Naturalistic theories concerning the use of natural laws in art, so that the art creation is built upon a foundation of deterministic forces.[5] The enthusiasm for the theater is certainly a characteristic of the Berlin group of Naturalists, and surely it was they who restored it to its vital relationship to modern life.

Hauptmann was regarded as the leader of the Naturalistic movement in drama. At the same time, he was a great poet concerned about the problems of his art, and he showed himself very early as greater than the movement with which he had been identified. In his development he soon left it behind him on his own personal way as artist.

A word of Hauptmann from the year 1898 reveals a great deal about his concept of the place of the artist in society.

> Die Kunst ist frei, und so muss auch der freieste Mensch im Staate der Künstler sein. --- --- Er wendet sich weder an Narren noch an Charaktere, sondern an das freie und menschlich gebliebene ausschliesslich Menschliche. --- --- So selbstherrlich er sein muss, ist der Künstler niemals Feind.[6]

This statement corresponds to the demand for individual freedom for the artist in society, made by Conradi in his introduction to Moderne Dichtercharaktere,

5. Cf. references to Bölsche and Holz above.
6. Gerhart Hauptmann, Ausblicke (Berlin, 1924), p. 5.

wherein he also emphasizes the artist's devotion to ideal humanity. Hauptmann feels very strongly, however, that the artist must never assume a hostile attitude toward society, and this feeling is expressed in his artist-dramas. Surely, the work of no author is so filled with the feeling of sympathy and love for humanity as that of Hauptmann.

Five of Hauptmann's plays may be considered as artist-dramas, with Das Hirtenlied as important fragment. These are College Crampton (1892), Die versunkene Glocke (1896), Michael Kramer (1900), Peter Brauer (1911) and Gabriel Schillings Flucht (1907).

All the artist figures in these plays lay claim to a special position in society and to exemption from its bonds. Most of them are unsuccessful in maintaining this position; only Michael Kramer, through the recognition of his moral obligations to society, and the artist couple, Ottfried Mäurer and Lucie Heil, through the voluntary separation of art and the real world, maintain themselves securely.

College Crampton and Peter Brauer are naturalistic studies of degenerated artists, who have utterly lost their creative power through the lack of discipline in their lives. They have arrogated to themselves the freedom of the artist, but they are not strong enough to uphold themselves. They are both victims of alcoholism, and tragedy which seems inevitable is averted in the case of Crampton only by the intervention of the young admirer of his daughter. Both are already irretrievably lost as artists.

College Crampton must at some time have deserved the name of artist, for he is professor in an art academy. Whatever claim he has had to that name, he has lost through an inordinate appetite for strong drink which has destroyed him as a man and as an artist. He has a kind, childish heart and a great capacity for making plans. His is a world of grand illusions in which he is greatest among the great, but he no longer has any creative power, and he has no honest relationship to his work. He has become a pretender, a boaster and a sham. He treats the non-artistic world ("Philistines") with the

utmost contempt, and he ridicules the soulless drill of his fellow-professors. He prates of being misunderstood and mistreated by the world and envied by his fellows, who have no talent.

In contrast to this boasting and pretense, stand his artistic accomplishments: one sign for a restaurateur in a year's time, with which the restaurateur is not at all satisfied. He speaks of the great picture of Mephistopheles and the Student that he is going to paint, and manages to strike a few poses before an easel, as if he were finally to make a beginning, but it is all sham.

The calm, unbiassed opinion of College Crampton expressed by a man of judgment is simply: "verrückt." (Adolf Strähler, I, 403.)[7] This word is very apt, for Crampton's existence is really that of an insane person, sheltered and protected by friends. In any other profession he would not even be able to impose upon the world as long as he has; the profession of artist has made it easier for him to keep up the sham.

The figure of College Crampton is no doubt based upon Hauptmann's own observations of artists at the school of art in Breslau, where Hauptmann studied for a while (1880-81). He belongs to the world of art attacked by the Naturalists, and represented by the Piloty School of painting, which loved historical or mythological subjects, portrayed with much color and no depth. Conrad[8] speaks of the fleshly productions of Makart, and Heinrich Hart[9] speaks of the "shining superficiality without any depth" of the same painter. Here, however, Hauptmann does not seem to be interested in the type of artist. College Crampton is merely a naturalistic study of degeneracy, colored by Hauptmann's sympathy for a suffering creature of circumstances and outer forces.

Peter Brauer probably can not be called an artist at all, for he certainly is not one in the drama, and it is doubtful whether he has ever been one. He is

7. References to Hauptmann's plays are to Das dramatische Werk (Berlin, 1932).
8. Zola bis Hauptmann, p. 57.
9. Ges. Werke, III, 30.

an exaggeration of the same type as College Crampton. He is lazy and accomplishes nothing worth while. He drinks, betrays his family, and deceives the unsuspecting public. Although the only products of his hand are miserable hack work, refreshing of oil paintings in beer and wine cellars, and numerous portraits of the Kaisers, yet he insists upon his high position as a great artist, placing himself beside the great Dutch masters and Velasquez. Having great ability as an actor, he is able to inspire awe in the non-artistic world for his ability and accomplishments, but actually he is on the same level with Schmolcke, the old mountebank photographer.

In spite of the extreme degree of degeneracy of his character, Peter Brauer is treated kindly by Hauptmann. In spite of his faults he is made lovable through his childish naivete, and the despair of the man as he faces his shame alone, deserted by his family, is deeply moving.

Arnold Kramer, although also a study in degeneracy, presents a much more complex problem, for he has a prodigious talent, bordering on genius. He has the power to execute with ease works of art which could not be equalled by his father, even with his earnestness and complete dedication to his profession. And yet he is destroyed completely as man and artist by his absolute lack of ethical standards and control. He suffers under a crushing inferiority complex induced by his ugliness and by the sternness of his father. He lies continually to his father and mother, and treats them both with the utmost disrespect, even contempt. Entirely without any steadiness of character from within, he is a rebel to all restrictions from without, and is left a prey to the force of his sexual instability which brings him into grave conflict with society, with suicide as the result.

The conflict which goes on inside Arnold is not at all definite. He feels restless and dissatisfied.[10] He feels unequal to the demands of living. His ugly features cause him shame. These things he tries to conceal by his assumption of superiority.[11] That his genius

10. III, 45: "Mir ist nicht wohl in meiner Haut."
11. III, 49: "Ich kann mehr, wie die Kerle alle zusammen."

has been made useless by his inner degeneracy is shown by the fact that he does not paint anything worth while, only caricatures and dogs.

Gabriel Schilling, on a very much higher plane, with a deep feeling of moral seriousness, finds himself caught between two women who fight like vultures over him, and seeks refuge in death. In the peculiar violence of the scene between the two women, Naumann sees a Strindbergian influence.[12]

In this case we know that we have to do with a man who has done great things in art. His artist friends treasure him most highly, and his work has been well accepted by the world. Also he has an artist's temperament and soul; he fits into the wonderfully created background of the play, the atmosphere of the sea, as if he himself were a force of nature. Significant with respect to Hauptmann himself is the motif of the flight to Greece, foreshadowing Hauptmann's trip.

Although Gabriel Schilling has been a great artist, and although he has preserved the upright soul of an artist, he is powerless in the hands of an exotic and physically attractive woman. In five years, he has produced only a portrait of the child that Hanna Elias has born him. His attempt to flee from his difficulties comes to naught, and he seeks a solution to the discord of his soul by drowning himself in the sea, as the final best deed of his life. (V, 149)

Arnold Kramer and Gabriel Schilling are certainly on a higher level than College Crampton and Peter Brauer. Both have real ability as artists, but they have lost that ability through their own inner weakness. They are portrayed naturalistically, being determined wholly by outside forces, and they both seek refuge in death - Arnold out of fear of an enraged group of low-class people, and Gabriel out of a feeling of his own human dignity. Gabriel Schilling, especially, takes on aspects personal to Hauptmann; for instance, his difficulties of married life and his desire to visit Greece.

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12. Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart (Stuttgart, 1927), p. 33.

Ottfried Mäurer in Gabriel Schillings Flucht finds a solution to the problem of his relationship to the world in an essentially un-Naturalistic way. In his separation of the realms of art and life he belongs rather to the Neo-romantic school of artists, in which this separation was regarded not only as necessary, but tragic, in that either art or human feeling must suffer from it. To be sure, Mäurer lacks the sensitivity to this division common to Neo-Romanticism. His attitude is more calmly intellectual and unexcited.

Ottfried Mäurer is an artist of ability, sculptor and engraver, sure of himself, and feeling no conflict between himself and the world around him. This calm and assurance does not rest upon a recognition of moral obligations to the world. Mäurer feels that he stands apart from normal people and can live in a feeling of superiority to the non-artistic world. He is a spectator of life, which he treats with light cynicism, and allows nothing to disturb him in his career as artist. He is conscious of certain weaknesses as a human being, but his motto is: "Nimm Kraft aus deiner Schwäche" (IV, 103).

His love-relationship to Lucie Heil, violinist, parallels that between Gabriel Schilling and Hanna Elias, but this relationship causes no disturbance of the artist in him. Mäurer quite frankly elevates art above everything else. His philandering with Fräulein Majakin is only play and diversion; it cannot disturb him deeply.

Lucie Heil shares this attitude toward life; though it may lie in the very nature of woman that this should be harder for her than for the man. Sometimes she would like to have this love-relationship on a more permanent basis, but neither of the two has any faith in the permanency of human affections. They cannot trust their instincts, like other people, to tell them that they are partners for life.

These two artists stand aside and observe life, not daring to surrender themselves to life completely. They have in common with all the other artist figures of Hauptmann their feeling of superiority to the world of ordinary people. Their attitude toward the world is not one of contempt, but of light cynicism.

Probably the most intimately personal of Hauptmann's creations is Die versunkene Glocke. Heinrich der Glockengiesser is a true artist who sets out upon new paths toward high ideals of art. As is the case with that other "superman," in a Nietzschean sense, Johannes Vockerat in Einsame Menschen, Heinrich is too weak to succeed in his undertaking.

Heinrich's attempt to free himself from the bonds of family and society fails in the end, for the sunken bell becomes a symbol of his bourgeois conscience reminding him of his obligations.

The more tragic problem for him as artist is weakness in his artistic strivings. He envisions a new art, which shall be the new natural religion of joy and beauty. Into this new ideal are mixed Christian and pagan elements, in which Balder the sungod becomes a symbolic figure. The two elements are seen in Heinrich's description of the temple he is going to build for the wonderful new bell, that is to proclaim the birth of light in the world.

> So aber treten wir alle ans Kreuz
> und, noch in Tränen, jubeln wir hinan,
> wo endlich durch der Sonne Kraft erlöst,
> der tote Heiland seine Glieder regt
> und strahlend, lachend, ew'ger Jugend voll,
> ein Jüngling in den Maien niedersteigt. (II, 325.)

That this paganism conflicts with traditional Christianity is signified by the lack of understanding between Heinrich and the village pastor. Heinrich's religious ideal is to replace the negative virtues of traditional Christianity by the Nietzschean virtues of joy and beauty. The vacillation of Heinrich and the conglomeration of pagan and Christian elements in his new art-religion correspond to the similar uncertainty in Hauptmann himself, who in his works exhibits such an infinite capacity for "Christian" love and sympathy and at the same time writes such a pagan glorification of the sensual as Der Ketzer von Soana.

Heinrich becomes aware of his weakness, and he is tormented by doubts of his talent. He feels himself fearfully alone in the world.

Gewiss ist dies nur; sei ich, wer auch immer,
Held oder Schwächling, Halbgott oder Tier ---
Ich bin der Sonne ausgesetztes Kind,
das heim verlangt. (II, 361)

At the beginning of Act IV, we have a symbolic representation of the act of artistic creation itself. The six dwarfs who are present as the artist works are symbols of forces operative during the process of creation. One represents the will to form; a second, fatigue; a third, inspiration; a fourth, doubt; a fifth, despair and destruction; and a sixth is the one who is to crown the completed work.

Die versunkene Glocke also symbolizes the problem of Hauptmann's own development, that of the turn from the sordidness of his naturalistic dramas to the more imaginary plays. The reference to the failure of Florian Geyer in the symbol of the sunken bell is well known.

This play is interesting also in this position of Hauptmann's development from the point of view of the concept of the Naturalistic artist. Heinrich has the ethical ideals of Naturalism, and his reformist tendency is bound up with the beginnings of the movement, especially through the influence of Ibsen with his strong criticism of society and the dramatic figures of the Masterbuilder and Hjalmar Ekdal in The Wild Duck. Bölsche, also, conceives of the artist as a leader in the advancement of society. The religious elements of Heinrich go beyond Naturalism and are part of Hauptmann's mode of feeling. Heinrich is, however, seen Naturalistically, for he too fails through inner weakness. He is determined by outside forces.

The Hirtenlied has remained a fragment, but Hauptmann's problem of turning from Naturalism seems to be here even more clearly expressed. The artist is led by his good angel away from the ugliness and misery of the cesspools of life to the purity of the open fields of Laban, father of the Biblical Rachel. At first the artist is hesitant about going. The promised world is one of dreams, and he wants just the clear sunlight

which does not need dreams. The angel replies:

> Tor, der du bist!
> Das Sein, das keines Traumes bedarf, heisst Tod.[13]

Michael Kramer succeeds in finding a solution of the relationship of the artist to society by recognizing and insisting upon the importance of the artist's obligations to society. He insists that an artist must be great as an individual before he can become great as an artist:

> Pflichten, Pflichten, das ist die Hauptsache.
> Das macht den Mann erst zum Manne, hör'n Se.
> Das Leben erkennen im ganzen Ernst, und hernach,
> Sehn Se, mag man sich drüber erheben. (III, 33)

On this basis of moral obligation to the world, Michael Kramer raises himself to the level of artist. He finds strength in complete consecration to his art. Art is to him religion, and artistic creation demands daily sanctification. He is a searcher for God. For seven years, he has been painting on a picture of Christ. This means daily communion with his God.

Michael Kramer creates out of an inner dearth. Whereas his son produces without effort, the father must labor and struggle, trying to make up by assiduous application what he lacks in genius. The contest for the soul of his son, which is the main problem of the drama, typifies his fight for the quality of genius which he himself does not possess. The full significance of what he has sought in his son appears in the hymn-like praise of death and the glorification of the dead son: "Und der dort liegt, das bin ich, ---- das ist eine grosse Majestät." (III, 77)

Michael Kramer is the strongest of the artist figures in Hauptmann's drama. Here, for the first time in Hauptmann's production, is an artist who is not wholly determined by outside forces. Whereas Crampton, Brauer, Arnold and Gabriel are seen from without as pathological studies of degeneracy, Michael Kramer is

13. Hauptmann, Ausblicke, p. 211.

created with the inner strength to maintain himself in society and in his profession. This indeterminism is a clear departure from Naturalism. His conception of his position as one of serious work is in harmony with ideals of the movement,[14] but his emphasis on religion, his work on the painting of Christ, goes beyond the sociologically directed Naturalistic tendencies.

In contrast to the other artist-figures of Hauptmann, Michael Kramer finds a solution to the supposed conflict between the artist and society. Although he does not surrender any of his feeling of the importance of his work, which raises him above other people, yet he sees the necessity of observing his obligations to society, especially in personal morality. This is a real solution, in contrast to the apparent solution reached by Ottfried Mäurer and Lucie Heil, which is based upon a refusal to face the problem squarely and seriously. They take refuge in the world of art, as do the Neo-romantic artists.

We have seen how the idealistic elements in Hauptmann go beyond those of the Naturalistic movement. Hauptmann's influence made itself felt in other plays of the period. This influence can be seen rather clearly in the plays of Ernst Rosmer, under which name Elsa Porges Bernstein wrote.

Peter Kron, the choral director in Ernst Rosmer's Tedeum (1896), can be compared in many ways to Hauptmann's College Crampton. Like Crampton, Kron is an indifferent father of a family, is nervous and irritable, and finds himself completely out of touch with the surrounding world, which has no appreciation for his ideals. After having been forced to seek employment in the cheap world of variete-music he is saved through the generosity of an American music publisher, Claus Smith, who lends him an orchestra for the production of Berlioz' "Tedeum." Although the parallel to College Crampton is quite evident, Rosmer has made her character different in some ways. Peter Kron, unlike Crampton, appears as a capable musician, representing an ideal music in a world of increasing cheapening of music to mere entertainment.

14. See Bölsche, p. 87.

Peter Kron represents sound ideals of art, but he is an old man, with no apparent connection with the ideals of a renewal of art from a superficial past which engaged the enthusiasm of the Naturalists. The opposition is here quite different, that between sound tradition and encroaching commercialization of art. There is, therefore, no evident connection between Peter Kron and the Naturalistic artist.

Just as Michael Kramer makes clear to his son the importance of morality and duty, so does Johannes Herkner, in Rosmer's drama by that name (1904), make the same attempt on his sculptor son, Albrecht. After the death of the father - who does not appear in the play at all - the meaning of the father's words about inner truth become clear to the son, and he resolves to change his whole life and art.

Albrecht Herkner, has been living in passionate love with his model, Mirjam Tachan. The products of his art have been sensual and fleshly (statues of Lucifer and of a nude dancer from the Moulin Rouge). He refuses to admit the claims of morality expressed in a letter from his father, insisting that the only duty of the artist is to reproduce nature - a Naturalistic concept as applied to the content of art.

> Was will der Mann von mir? Was denn? Ich bin kein Philosoph. Ich habe keine Ideen. Geist! Erkenntniss! Dreck!! Die Erscheinung wahrnehmen - fassen und festhalten - die Nature auffinden und knebeln, bis ihr der Atem vergeht - das will ich! (p. 19)

Another aspect of this father-son relationship reminds us of Michael Kramer and his son. Just as Michael Kramer felt his own weakness of talent and the great genius of his son, so does Johannes Herkner hope to see in Albrecht the fulfilment of the artist which he himself had wanted to be. Earlier, the father had wanted to be a pianist, but had given up the idea because he recognized the insufficiency of his talent.

The unwillingness of Albrecht to be bound by the ties of marriage, and the terms of his agreement with

Mirjam, according to which she would dissolve the relationship as soon as she noticed that he no longer loved her, remind us of some Schnitzler situations. The statue of the dancer from the Moulin Rouge suggests a more sensual art than that of the naturalistic school. In effect, we have here, however, a turning away from a sensual art to Naturalistic ethical ideals, the religious color probably coming through the influence of Hauptmann.

Albrecht resolves first of all to attempt to establish his personal life on a basis of truth. He proposes marriage to Mirjam, but she has to go away with her brother, who is indignant about the affair, and threatens to kill himself if she remains with Albrecht. Albrecht hopes to win her back, for he feels now that he really loves her for the first time. In the meantime he wishes to live up to the meaning of his father's words, which he now understands: "dem Lebenskampf eine Erlösung im Lebenswerk" (p. 140).

We have an example of a problematic weak artist in Robert Frey, the would-be musician and composer in Georg Hirschfeld's Die Mütter (1896). Robert is fruitful of plans but entirely lacking in accomplishments. His talent is not so great, but he is sensitive and has a passionate love for beauty. The non-artistic world irritates him greatly and he suffers from what he considers to be a lack of understanding of his artistic nature by his family. This has been true of his father, who has forced Robert against his will to enter the father's commercial business.[15] In his feeling of revolt against this constraint Robert has entered into a love-affair with a working girl. The father has driven him away from home because of this, and Robert has gone to Berlin to live with the girl.

The play itself brings Robert into a conflict between his feeling for Marie, with whom he really is gradually degenerating completely as artist, and for his own mother, who wants to make her home more pleasant for

15. The conflict between generations occurs frequently in the Naturalistic drama, as also later in Expressionism.

him to devote himself to his music, now that the father is dead. Marie is an expectant mother, which fact explains the title of the play more completely.

These things do not have anything to do with art directly, but the same weakness and indecision which Robert shows in this situation is the result of the lack of confidence in himself as artist. In one of his moments of grave doubt of his ability, he speaks of giving up a piano and just making inward music (p. 65). His desire to create music must no doubt remain just a feeling of longing.

In his Winterschlaf, Max Dreyer gave us the only unified picture of a Naturalistic artist in Naturalistic drama which we have. In his Sieger (1901) he shows how a young artist abandons the ideals of Naturalism when he discovers that his talent is too small to become a great artist.

Heinz Brinker is a sculptor, who has been acclaimed publicly for his statue of Froebel. He rejects an offer to enter the competition for a commission to make a statue of the Duke Karl Ludwig Theodor, because he still adheres to the ideals of his group which considers art as created for eternity and never for money, favor of princes or acclaim of the mob. On finding that his wife Hertha has much more talent than he himself, he abandons the ideals of the group. The transition is not difficult, for his Froebel statue is already a step in that direction.

Hertha, on the other hand, represents Naturalistic ideals of art. She is a child of the fresh air, having grown up on the island of Rügen. She has made her start in art by wood-carving. After the marriage with Heinz, she attempts to model a child and finally shows it to Heinz in order to learn his opinion. He lies to her, when he tells her that it is not any good. When he discloses his deception to her, she is willing to forgive him. They can both find their future together through hard work. His shame of being inferior to his wife makes this impossible. His abandonment of the ideals of the group makes her love for him change into contempt.

The group of artists of which Heinz and Hertha are members feel very keenly the demands of idealism. Opposing them is Hubert, sculptor and Academy-professor, who tries to persuade Heinz to desert his ideals of independence.

Sonnenfinsternis (1908) presents a problem which is highly personal to Arno Holz, the author, and at the same time has an intimate relationship to the problems of Naturalism. Hollrieder, a painter, has a highly perfected technique, but his pictures suffer from the lack of a worthy content. This is a problem distinctive to Holz, who had stated the intention as a Naturalist to find a technique of reproducing the world as it is without the intrusion of the artist's personality.

Hollrieder's pictures have had as their subjects: genre-scenes, laborers, tramps, chimneys and telegraph poles. The new picture is to represent a group of people climbing a hill to witness an eclipse of the sun.

In this drama revolving around Hollrieder's attempt to create this great picture with a worthy subject, are mingled events which add to this one problem that of the relationship between the human experiences of the artist and his artistic creations, and of unrestrained instincts and artistic discipline.[16]

Both Naumann[17] and Soergel[18] regard Holz' Sonnenfinsternis as the artist-drama of Naturalism, because of the problem of the technique without worthy content. It represents a development of Holz' Naturalistic theory from a concern for the conquest of new technical means to a concern for the conquest of new social content - a meaningful content.

Hollrieder searches for something to believe in, something that gives meaning to the fragments of human life.

16. Soergel, Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit (Leipzig, 1928), p. 689.
17. Dichtung der Gegenwart, p. 56.
18. Op. cit., p. 689.

> Gib mir einen Grund, auf dem ich wieder stehn kann, eine Idee, an die ich wieder 'glauben' darf, ein Einziges, das alles umfasst, die ganze Skala ----, ich würde es --- nochmal --- versuchen. (p. 73)

In his concern for technique and for details, Hollrieder has lost all feeling for the broader meanings of life. He has no faith and no ideals.

In the Naturalistic dramas we have studied we find various aspects of the Naturalistic ideals and theories reflected. No one drama, however, gives us a complete picture of a Naturalistic artist. Hans Meincke represents the interest of the movement in studying and improving social conditions. Hertha Brinker embodies the idealistic tendencies of Naturalism, as they directed themselves toward general humanity with hope and confidence in the future. The ideal of hard work is here exemplified, for the Naturalist believes that talent is necessary but that untiring work is an essential ingredient of real art. Fritz Goldner gives his enthusiasm to the theater as a vital institution. Hollrieder, finally, shows us the problem of the Naturalistic theoretical interest in a new technique.

From Hauptmann's productions, Heinrich and Michael Kramer represent certain ideals of Naturalism, but they contain elements which go beyond Naturalism. Heinrich shows the tendencies of the movement toward reform, but this takes in him a religious and mystic meaning which is foreign to Naturalism. Michael Kramer exalts the virtue of moral obligations and hard work, but his art also has a religious direction.

In his other artist-dramas Hauptmann portrays traditional or problematic artists Naturalistically, seen from without. College Crampton and Peter Brauer as artists, belong to the old Piloty school of painting historical and mythological subjects without any real depth and meaning. Arnold Kramer and Gabriel Schilling would belong to a later generation of artists, but they have degenerated through inner weakness. Ottfried Maürer belongs to the world of Neo-romanticism.

Ernst Rosmer's plays are influenced by Hauptmann and have Naturalistic elements. Albrecht Herkner shows the transition from the merely sensual artist to the ethical ideals of Naturalism.

Robert Frey and Heinz Brinker are problematic artists. The former is weak in personal qualities and in talent. The latter turns from the ideals of a free and independent art to the service of princes and of popular demand.

The group of artists is not large. The Naturalistic dramatists were interested in the world of reality and evils of society, and this direction of their interest did not foster a subjective contemplation of the nature of the artist. Hauptmann's interest in the artist, first from without and then from within, is significant in our understanding of him with reference to the movement with which he was at first identified, and indicates what qualities in him pointed beyond the movement.

III. NEO-ROMANTICISM: SCHNITZLER AND HOFMANNSTHAL

Hermann Bahr, who had come from Vienna to Berlin in 1884 and for three years had been associated with the leaders of the Naturalistic movement, went in 1887 to Paris, from which place he attempted to gain an objective view of the development of modern German literature. While there he met Baudelaire, Bourget and others who represented a literary movement which had already left Naturalism behind it. Bahr's capacity for sensing the beginnings of new literary movements was unexcelled. Already in 1890, one year after Hauptmann's Vor Sonnenaufgang, Bahr published his Zur Kritik der Moderne, in which he proclaimed the beginning of a new literary movement in Germany, referring to the "Loris" essays of the young Hugo von Hofmannsthal, who was only sixteen at the time. In a book continuing the same ideas, Studien zur Kritik der Moderne (1894), Bahr attempts to describe the new elements in the movement, showing in what ways it was different from the Romantic period of the beginning of the century, and offering critical studies of French poets who represented these same trends in France.

From Paris, Bahr returned to Vienna, where he was in close association with Hofmannsthal, Schnitzler and others of the Vienna group. Bahr had called the new movement a new Romanticism, and its German home was preeminently Vienna, a city whose traditions long had formed themselves around an ideal of the cultivation of beauty and art for their own sake. The Naturalistic movement did not flourish here as it did in the more materialistic Berlin.

The ideals of Neo-romanticism were in opposition to Naturalism and materialism. From the Naturalistic interest in the outside world and in social conditions, there is a distinct turn to the subjective ego and sensation. And yet this second Romantic movement is not concerned as much with the inward fantasy, the mysticism of the ego as it is with the realm of sensations and impressions, that is, the point of contact between man and world.

> Das charakterisiert die neue Phase des Geistes. Er verlässt das Sein; mit dem Materialismus, mit dem Naturalismus ist's aus. Aber es flüchtet nicht in das Ich zurück; er wird die alte Romantik nicht wiederholen. Sondern in das Werden des Seins zum Ich hinüber, in dem Prozess vom Wirklichen zum Denken hin, wo er nicht mehr draussen und noch nicht drinnen ist - da will er eindringen.[1]

The Neo-romanticist, then, turns away from the outside world. His interests are no longer social but literary. The "Blätter für die deutsche Kunst," founded in 1892 in Berlin under the direction of Stefan George, maintained the ideal of art for art's sake against the material interests of Naturalism. Hofmannsthal was a contributor. The latter in a letter to Hermann Bahr in 1892, makes reference to Bahr's socialistic writings of his earlier Berlin days, and makes the plea for a purely "literary" play, without any such content.[2]

Nietzschean ideas served to increase the Neo-romanticist's feeling of the importance of his own ego. He interpreted the ideal of the superman in his own way, justifying his withdrawal from the world of ordinary affairs and his hearty contempt for the vulgar mob. Also, Nietzsche's sense for the colorfulness of the Renaissance had its profound influence, and Burckhardt's work of 1860 stands behind the modern interest in the Italian Renaissance.

The above quotation from Bahr reveals a significant relationship between the Neo-romanticist and the world of reality. The artist's interest is in the point of contact between the ego and reality. This is the realm of sensations and impressions. It is not the realm of mysticism of the soul but of modern psychology, which flourished in Vienna under Freud and which began to have such a far-reaching effect on modern literature. Arthur Schnitzler lived in Vienna, and was himself a psychoanalyst and physician.

1. Bahr, Studien zur Kritik der Moderne, p. 9.
2. Hofmannsthal, Briefe 1890-1901 (Berlin, 1935), p. 47.

This scientific aspect of impressionistic Neo-romanticism shows that there was a point of connection between it and Naturalism. The application of the deterministic ideas of natural science to the realm of psychology resulted in the removal of man's last remnant of free will, leaving in many authors of the time a feeling of hopelessness, of weakness and even of decay, which feeling has been called the "fin de siècle" spirit, because it coincided with the closing years of the century.

Before Freud, there was the Austrian physicist and psychologist Ernst Mach (1838-1916), who applied concepts of physics to psychology, especially in his Die Analyse der Empfindungen (1885). Mach came to the conclusion that all existence is mere sensation, color, sound, temperature, pressure, space, time. The individual ego has no entity in itself but is merely an ever-changing medium of the sensory impressions which pass through it. Beyond the sensations it has of the outside world, it can know nothing. The essential agreement between Mach's concepts and certain ideas found in Hofmannsthal's work has been pointed out.[3]

The ego, then, has been reduced to mere nerves, and the Neo-romanticist is interested in the nervous sensations alone - not in feelings so much as just moods, and not at all in thinking and willing.

> Aber sie sind eine Romantik der Nerven. Das ist das Neue an ihnen. Das ist ihr erstes Merkmal. Nicht Gefühle, nur Stimmungen suchen sie auf. Sie verschmähen nicht bloss die äussere Welt, sondern am innern Menschen selbst verschmähen sie allen Rest, der nicht Stimmung ist. Das Denken, das Fühlen und das Wollen achten sie gering und nur den Vorrath, welchen sie jeweilig auf ihren Nerven finden, wollen sie ausdrücken und mittheilen.[4]

3. Ernst Feise, "Gestalt und Problem des Toren in Hugo von Hofmannsthals Werk," The Germanic Review, III (1928), 235ff.
4. Bahr, Studien, pp. 20-21.

This quotation from Bahr appears in a chapter which he calls "Décadence." Quoting freely from Barrès, Barbey d'Aurevilly and Charles Morice, he describes this movement in which he includes the new generation of writers who are against Naturalism and turn to the unusual sensations and a new glorification of the artificial.

The decadence as a concept in modern thought means a negative evaluation of forces of civilization and culture, in which the progressive differentiation and refinement of man's mind and soul and feeling is considered as a sign of decay. Such a feeling, in modern literature, owes much to Rousseau. Montesquieu and Gibbons gave to Christianity much of the blame for destroying good and valuable elements of culture, and in this interpretation they were followed to some extent by Byron, Heine and Nietzsche.[5]

The movement of decadence in France stood under the strong influence of the pessimistic philosophy of Schopenhauer. From 1886 to 1889 there was in France a literary revue called "Le Décadent," edited by Anatole Baju and contributed to by Verlaine, du Plessy, Raynaud and others. Verlaine speaks of decadence thus:

> J'aime le mot décadence tout miroitant de pourpre et d'or. J'en révoque toute imputation injurieuse et toute idée de déchéance. Ce mot suppose au contraire des pensées raffinées d'extrême civilisation, une haute culture littéraire, une âme capable d'intenses voluptés. Il projette des éclats d'incendie et des lueurs de pierreries. Il est fait d'un mélange d'esprit charnel et de chair triste et de toutes les splendeurs violentes du bas-empire; il respire le fard des courtisanes, les jeux du cirque, le souffle des belluaires, le bondissement des fauves, l'écroulement dans les flammes des races épuisées par la force de sentir, au bruit envahisseur des trompettes

5. H. Bieber, "Dekadenzdichtung," Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, hrsg. v. Merker und Stammler (Berlin, 1926, 1927), I, 178–179.

> ennemies. La décadence, c'est Sardanapale allumant le brasier au milieu de ses femmes, c'est Sénèque ouvrant les veines en déclamant ses vers, c'est Pétrone, masquant des fleurs son agonie. C'est encore, si vous voulez prendre des exemples moins éloignées de nous, les marquises marchant à la guillotine avec un sourire et le souci de ne pas déranger leur coiffure. C'est l'art de mourir en beauté.[6]

In Verlaine, then, we have decadence given a positive meaning. It represents a refinement and sensitivity, a love for exotic beauty in wierd or even gruesome things, which is worth being bought at the price of health and normality. It is this same interpretation given to decadence by Baudelaire, who in Les fleurs du mal gave to the world the best example of this literature. Baudelaire shows in these poems his love of the bizarre, the abnormal and the perverse. In his Fúsees Baudelaire says:

> Ce qui n'est pas légèrement difforme a l'air insensible; d'où il suit que l'irregularité, c'est à dire l'inattendu, la surprise, l'étonnement sont une partie essentielle et la caractéristique de la beauté.[7]

In Germany, Nietzsche, in his Wagner essays, had dealt with the problem of decadence. Wagner he considered to be a typical decadent.

> Ein typischer décadent, der sich nothwendig in seinem verderbten Geschmack fühlt, der mit ihm einen höheren Geschmack in Anspruch nimmt, der seine Verderbniss als Gesetz, als Fortschritt, als Erfüllung in Geltung zu bringen weiss.[8]

Nietzsche considers Wagner's art to be sick and hysterical:

6. Ernest Raynaud, La mêlée symboliste (Paris, 1918), p. 64.
7. Oeuvres complètes, Tome VI (Paris, 1937), p. 256.
8. "Der Fall Wagner," Werke, I. Abt., 8 Bd., p. 16.

> Die Probleme, die er auf die Bühne bringt- lauter Hysteriker-Probleme-, das Convulsivische seines Affekts, seine überreizte Sensibilität, sein Geschmack, der nach immer schärfern Würzen verlangte, seine Instabilität, die er zu Principien verkleidete, nicht am wenigsten die Wahl seiner Helden und Heldinnen, diese als physiologische Typen betrachtet (- eine Kranken-Galerie! -): Alles zusammen stellt ein Krankheitsbild dar, das keinen Zweifel lässt.[9]

Besides hysteria and convulsiveness of emotion Nietzsche finds in Wagner brutality, artificiality, hypnotic power and mannerisms, all of which he considers signs of decadence. Above all, Nietzsche considers Wagner's theatricality, his love of effects and pathetic gestures, as decadent.

Bahr's chapter on Decadence analyzes the concept as meaning: (1) concern with nervous sensations, (2) love of the artificial, (3) search for the mystic and (4) an insatiable urge for great effects.[10] He refers to the Wagner schooling of the decadents in connection with the last item. In another chapter called "Satanismus" Bahr speaks of the search for artificial pleasures, especially in the realm of evil, by men without belief who want unusual excitement for their nerves. He calls it a kind of "Wollust im Bosen"[11] and gives the following definition:

> Künstliche Verbote eines künstlischen Glaubens, um künstliche Sünden, eine künstliche Reue und eine künstliche Höllenangst zu bereiten - das ist die Quintessenz des neuen Satanismus.[12]

This definition seems to attempt to outdo Baudelaire and Verlaine, in its emphasis on the artificial. As representatives of this spirit in literature Bahr refers to E. T. A. Hoffmann, Baudelaire, Barbey d'Aurevilly, Félicien Rops and Edgar A. Poe.

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9. Ibid., p. 18.
10. Studien, pp. 19-26.
11. Ibid., p. 38.
12. Ibid., p. 38.

The ideas of decadence had an influence on most of the Neo-romantic poets. It became part of their reaction against Naturalism and Positivism. Schnitzler, Hofmannsthal, Rilke, Edward V. Keyserling, Thomas Mann and Heinrich Mann show decadent traits.

When we turn from Bahr to the "Loris" he had referred to as the leading poet of the new movement, we find a deeper analysis of the nature of the impressionistic poet, for Hofmannsthal was conscious of his problematic tendencies and suffered from them. From one of his letters to Bahr in the early years of their acquaintance, Hofmannsthal speaks of a stay for several weeks at a resort as follows:

> Übrigens hab' ich mir angewöhnt, die Zeit durchs Mikroskop anzusehen, da merkt man, wie der Begriff Ereignis lügt und wie viel in solchen langweiligen 3 Wochen drinsteckt an Gedanken, die auftauchen, verrückt herumwimmeln und zergehen, an Farben, Bildern, Fragen, Zweifeln, Versen, Anfängen, Überwindungen, Sensationen und Sensatiönchen.[13]

Hofmannsthal, then, actually experienced and observed life as composed of sensations, impressions and fragmentary bits of activity.

If we examine Hofmannsthal's description of the poet in a speech in 1907, "Der Dichter und diese Zeit,"[14] we find an expression of the essential nature of the impressionist in a very sensitive poet. The poet is all sense, eye and ear, the spectator of men and events, who suffers with all things, at the same time getting a sensual enjoyment from all things.

> Er ist da und wechselt lautlos seine Stelle und ist nichts als Auge und Ohr und nimmt seine Farbe von den Dingen, auf denen er ruht. Er ist der Zuseher, nein, der versteckte Genosse, der lautlose Bruder aller Dinge, und das Wech-

13. 2 Juli, 1891: Briefe, pp. 18-19.
14. Die Berührung der Sphären (Berlin, 1931), pp. 42-72.

> seln seiner Farbe ist eine innige Qual: denn er leidet an allen Dingen, und indem er an ihnen leidet, geniesst er sie. (p. 57)

The very intensity of his feeling causes the poet suffering. And everything, great or small, sublime or common, real or imagined, contributes to the painful enjoyment.

> Denn ihm sind Menschen und Dinge und Gedanken und Träume völlig eins: er kennt nur Erscheinungen, die vor ihm auftauchen und an denen er leidet und leidend sich beglückt. (p. 58)

All things and all events cause him suffering, and yet he cannot forbid entrance to anything.

> Keinem Wesen, keinem Ding, keinem Phantom, keiner Spukgeburt eines menschlichen Hirns darf er seine Augen verschliessen. Es ist als hätten seine Augen keine Lider. ... Denn dies ist das einzige Gesetz, unter dem er steht: keinem Ding den Eintritt in seine Seele zu wehren. (p. 58)

In words which suggest the function assigned to the ego by Mach, Hofmannsthal describes the poet as a medium for time-elements, which in him only have any present existence.

> In ihm muss und will alles zusammenkommen. Er ist es, der in sich die Elemente der Zeit verknüpft. In ihm oder nirgends ist Gegenwart. (p. 58)

In the same passage the poet is compared to a seismograph which is set into vibration through distances of thousands of miles. (p. 61)

This description of the poet as the person with unlimited capacity for sensation is in accord with Bahr's analysis. The tragic feeling of being at the mercy of these things and these impressions belongs to Hofmannsthal. Beyond this quality of the poet, however,

Hofmannsthal proclaims as the peculiar mission of the poet the ordering of these sensations, the attempt to give them meaning. The poet is then an interpreter of life.

> Wie der innerste Sinn aller Menschen Zeit und Raum und die Welt der Dinge um sie her schafft, so schafft er aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, aus Tier und Mensch und Traum und Ding, aus Gross und Klein, aus Erhabenem und Nichtigem die Welt der Bezüge. (pp. 58-59)

Hofmannsthal, although his experience of the world of reality is impressionistic, is concerned about higher meanings and most of all about beauty and art. There is the same concern in Schnitzler, but in quieter and weaker tones. In Schnitzler the deep problematic nature of the impressionistic artist is revealed - in his weakness, his dependence upon sensual stimulation, his lack of responsibility and his love of art for its own sake.

Schnitzler's Anatol (1892) contains many decadent elements - the continual feeling of the end of an experience even in the very moment of its sensation, the background of low lights, green-red lamp shades and soft piano music, the enjoyment of the feeling of guilt, self-hypnotism, and the preference for the morbid and melancholy. Anatol says for instance:

> Ich fühle, wie viel mir verloren ginge, wenn ich mich eines Tages 'stark' fände! ... Es gibt so viele Krankheiten und nur eine Gesundheit. (I, 110)[15]

The assignment of positive values to the supersensitive world of sickness and morbidity is characteristic of the decadent movement. The importance of this evaluation of the morbid and pathological for the Neoromantic movement can be seen especially in the work of Thomas Mann - quite clearly in Der Zauberberg.

15. References to Schnitzler's plays are to Die Theaterstücke (Berlin, 1922).

Almost all of Schnitzler's artists experience reality impressionistically, that is, they feel it as a succession of sensations over which they have no control except that they can enjoy them and can use them in creation of art. They are creatures of the moment, for with a change of atmosphere, or with the mere passing of time they become different. Schnitzler himself says of the artist in 1927: "Keiner ist so sehr wie er Mensch von Gnaden des Augenblicks."[16]

It is not clearly stated that Anatol is a poet or artist, but his experience of life is typical for them. Reality is for him only sensation: he can not remember the names of his previous mistresses; he knows only that they have been in his arms (I, 41). Past, present and future become confused in his mind, and the very moment of experience itself has a quality of belonging already to the past. He feels already the end in the beginning. Continual self analysis makes it impossible for him to act even to the extent of making an end to an affair which is already at an end in his heart.

These are characteristics of other artist figures in Schnitzler's plays. Robert Well, painter, in Das Märchen (1894), speaking as a representative of the "new" artists calls them "die Sensitiven" (I, 130). Filippo Loschi, poet, in Der Schleier der Beatrice (1901) cannot remember a poem which he has written only three days before. After a scene in which he has insisted upon the complete loyalty of Beatrice, even in her dreams, he turns light-heartedly to bacchanalian revelry. Gilbert, poet, in Literatur (1902) speaks of the vibration of his nerves, as if that were the highest expression of his personality (II, 407). Later in the play he describes himself as "ein kranker, nervöser Mensch --- Stimmungen unterworfen" (II, 416). Stephan von Sala, poet, in Der einsame Weg (1903) says, concerning himself and Julian Fichtner: "wir von Gnaden des Augenblicks Götter und zuweilen etwas weniger als Menschen" (III, 33). Amadeus Adams, musician, in Zwischenspiel (1904), bases his marriage to Cäcilie, opera-singer, on an

16. Schnitzler, Der Geist im Wort und der Geist in der Tat (Berlin, 1927), p. 31.

understanding that they shall separate as soon as one of them loves another. The agreement in itself is predicated upon a feeling that their marriage cannot last.

Zwischenspiel, although it shows an artist who experiences life merely as sensation and who trusts to a calm understanding to solve all difficulties, comes to a conclusion which reveals the falseness of this position. Amadeus loves his wife in spite of his pose of understanding and light-heartedness. It would be very easy for him to hold Cäcilie if he wanted to, and she hopes that he will prove strong enough to assert himself. He, however, in his feeling of weakness and in his desire to prove that he is a very understanding man, above all anger and jealousy, lets her go. He rationalizes to himself:

> Was hatte es für einen Sinn? Heute wäre ich vielleicht der Stärkere - und vielleicht noch ein anderes Mal - und endlich käme doch der Tag, an dem ich unterliegen würde. (III, 123)

After a time of separation, during which they agree to be good friends and to be associates in the musical world, Amadeus feels quite differently. He would like to have her back. She, in the meantime, has formed an attachment for a Baron Sigismund, and Amadeus is jealous. Amadeus realizes that there was falseness in their position of mutual understanding and indulgence. Cäcilie states the case clearly.

> Hätten wir einander damals unsern Zorn, unsere Erbitterung, unsere Verzweiflung ins Gesicht geschrien, statt die Gefassten und Überlegenen zu spielen, dann wären wir wahr gewesen, Amadeus, - und wir waren es nicht. (III, 186)

Amadeus and Cäcilie both realize the mistakes in their attitude. Whether they can again live together as man and wife remains undecided, at least they have a new insight into the nature of experience.

In spite of the essential weakness of these artists, they have a feeling of their own importance, which

in some cases amounts to ridiculous conceit. They have no sense of obligation to society or even to any individual. There is none of the concern of the Naturalistic artist for improving social conditions.

Das Märchen (1894) deals with a social theme in a manner reminiscent of Naturalism, but the inner weakness of the artist makes any positive result impossible. Fedor Denner, writer, would like to be a social reformer. He leads a fight against the prejudice of society against a "fallen" woman. When he is himself faced with the problem he is unable to live up to his words. Fanny Theren finds strength in herself to rise above the stigma upon her reputation, when she sees what a weak person Denner is. On the other hand, Denner feels the anomaly of his attempting to be a reformer when he says: "Nun aber gehe ich einen Seitenpfad mitten ins Leben hinein" (I, 149). He cannot be an artist and a reformer at the same time.

Filippo Loschi has consciously separated himself from the outside world, toward which he feels no obligation.

> Umfriedet ist mein Garten,
> Die Fenster sind verhängt, den Lärm und Unsinn,
> Der durch die Strassen fegt, lass' ich nicht ein.
>
> (II, 139)

He has no compunction in abandoning his fiancee Teresina when he is attracted by the girl of the people, Beatrice. The death of his fiancee has not troubled him in the least, for he feels the sorrows of no one but himself. From Beatrice, however, he requires faithfulness without compromise, even in her dreams.

Schnitzler puts this unscrupulousness of artists in a different light in Der einsame Weg (1903) and Zwischenspiel (1904). In the former play, Julian Fichtner and Stephan von Sala have fled from obligations and have feared to bind themselves even to a friend. In the latter play Amadeus Adams and his wife Cäcilie come to realization of the falseness of their position in disregarding the rest of the world.

In his youth Julian Fichtner, painter, was in love with Gabriele and was planning to marry her. On the day before the elopement he fled, because he felt that he would be surrendering himself to a passion which could not endure. He experienced not the slightest remorse for the abandoned girl, although she was with child; on the contrary, his feeling of the importance and inviolability of his own ego was so great that he would not have found it improper if she had committed suicide because of him.

Now, Fichtner feels how really happy he was then; his powers of artistic creation had shown such promise. Now he cannot produce anything, but wanders about with a great inner restlessness. He longs for the love of his son, whom he sees now and then. Gabriele has married another artist, Wegrat, who is now director of the art academy, and considers Felix as his own son. It is too late for Fichtner to regain that which he had earlier disdained. The son continues to regard Professor Wegrat as his own father, even after he knows the secret, for Wegrat has loved him as a son.

Stephan von Sala feels deeply the tragedy of the inability to form lasting bonds of friendship. He realizes that he and Fichtner have led a false existence and that they must pay for their weakness by being entirely alone in the world. He is deeply introspective, and he has found that the gap between the artist and other people is unbridgeable. He summarizes for Fichtner and himself the falsities of their lives.

> Was hat das, was unsereiner in die Welt bringt, mit Liebe zu tun? Es mag allerlei Lustiges, Verlogenes, Zärtliches, Gemeines, Leidenschaftliches sein, das sich als Liebe ausgibt, --- aber Liebe ist es doch nicht... Haben wir jemals ein Opfer gebracht, von dem nicht unsere Sinnlichkeit oder unsere Eitelkeit ihren Vorteil gehabt hätte? ... Haben wir je gezögert, anständige Menschen zu betrügen oder zu belügen, wenn wir dadurch um eine Stunde des Glücks oder der Lust reicher werden konnten? ... Haben wir je unsere Ruhe oder unser Leben aufs Spiel

> gesetzt --- nicht aus Laune oder Leichtsinn .... nein um das Wohlergehen eines Wesens zu fördern, das sich uns gegeben hätte? .... Haben wir je auf ein Glück verzichtet, wenn dieser Verzicht nicht wenigstens zu unserer Bequemlichkeit beigetragen hätte? (IV, 91-92)

Robert Well, in Das Märchen, uses his present mistress as a model for a painting. By the time the painting is finished, the affair will also be over. Filippo Loschi uses his love affairs and other experiences as material for poems.

> Und quillt aus dieser Thorheit
> Einmal ein Lied, so ist's der höchste Preis,
> Den mir das Leben hinwirft für die Schmach,
> Dass ich zu schwach bin, es mit Stolz zu leben.
> (II, 166)

This use of life as mere material for art is considered very questionable and quite unethical by an outside world. For Schnitzler's own attitude it is interesting to see what distinction he made between the "Dichter" and "Literat" in a pamphlet published in 1927, called Der Geist im Wort und der Geist in der Tat.

> Der Dichter ist Gestalter und Bewahrer aus innerer Notwendigkeit. In seinen schöpferischen Momenten ist ihm die ganze Welt Material für sein Werk. (p. 31)

> Dem Literaten ist die Welt nicht a priori Material für sein Werk. Er ist vielmehr auf Stoffe aus. Er betrachtet seine Erlebnisse, seine Beziehungen, seine Stimmungen daraufhin, wie er sie etwa zugunsten seiner Produktion verwenden und ausnützen könnte. (p. 31)

The world of reality and experience is necessarily the material of the artist. Whether this use is ethical depends upon whether the artist uses the material out of inner necessity, or whether he is merely looking for materials which he can make use of to some purpose.

Because of the questionable nature of the experience of so many of Schnitzler's artist figures, it is hard to decide which are the genuine artists. With Robert Well and Filippo Loschi it is uncertain, one would have to decide from the lasting value of their production.

This question of the artist's use of his experience and that of those around him as the basis of his art is the theme of a cycle of four one-act plays. Lebendige Stunden (1901), Die Frau mit dem Dolche (1900), Die letzten Masken (1901) and Literatur (1901).

The question is stated clearly in the first of these plays. Heinrich, the poet, has been unintentionally guilty of the death of his mother. She had been ill for some time and had still a few years to live as an invalid. Worry about his mother had made it impossible for Heinrich to write. The mother had observed this and taken poison. In order to overcome the sorrow caused by her death, Heinrich had sought consolation in the world of art, first in Salzburg and then in the Munich Pinakothek.

Hausdorfer, who had loved the mother, feels a deep resentment against artists who can find refuge in art from the difficulties of life. In order to try to get Heinrich to feel the sorrow caused by the death of the mother in the same way as he himself, Hausdorfer shows Heinrich the letter disclosing the motive of the suicide, although it was the expressed desire that the son should never see it. Hausdorfer is incensed at what seems to him to be the heartlessness of an artist who can overcome a sense of guilt by creating a work of art. He defends the living reality against the claims of its reproduction in art.

Heinrich's reaction is certainly genuine, even as his feeling of remorse is genuine. He expresses the serious determination of proving that his mother has not died in vain, for to him art is greater than living but transitory reality.

> Lebendige Stunden? Sie leben doch nicht länger als der letzte, der sich ihrer erinnert. Es ist nicht der schlechteste Beruf, solchen

Stunden Dauer zu verleihen, über ihre Zeit
hinaus. -- Leben Sie wohl, Herr Hausdorfer.
Ihr Schmerz gibt Ihnen heute noch das Recht,
mich misszuverstehen. Im Frühjahr, wenn Ihr
Garten aufs neue blüht, sprechen wir uns wieder.
Denn auch Sie leben weiter. (II, 342)

The question seems here to receive a positive answer, for we have no reason to doubt the sincerity of Heinrich. The greatness of his production must furnish the final proof.

The same problem appears in Die Frau mit dem Dolche, in tragic and grotesque aspects, but with an affirmation of the prerogatives of art from the subject of exploitation. The play has a scene within a scene, with parallels between reality and the vision. Leonhard tries to persuade Pauline to forsake her husband who puts her into his plays. In the vision, Lionardo attempts to make Paola abandon her husband who uses her for his paintings.

Ihm ist Euer tiefstes Wesen nichts als Anlass
Und Stachel seiner Kunst, verräthrisch lockt
Aufs Antlitz Euch sein Kuss der Seele Gluth
Zur Fördrung eines Bildes, das Euch gleicht.
(II, 358)

Paola agrees with him perfectly, and yet she gladly sacrifices herself for the sake of the picture which is greater than she.

Es ist, als wär' mir etwas aufbewahrt,
Das besser oder schlimmer ist als alles,
Was jemals ich gedacht und je getan -
(II, 358)

Not only will she not leave her husband, she defends him against Lionardo's attack, and kills the lover. Remigio, in grotesque cold-bloodedness, seizes upon the tableau offered by the wife standing over the murdered lover, as just the right idea for the completion of a picture. He begins painting even as he looks on, cheerful and happy in the moment of artistic inspiration.

Pauline gives herself to Leonhard, feeling that she will have to make the same sacrifice as her parallel figure - of years ago. She also gives an affirmative answer, with a feeling of mystic fascination of art and the control of fate over her life.

Rademacher, the dying journalist, in Die letzten Masken, intends to attack Weihgast, the poet, for the emptiness of his existence. Weihgast reveals to him some of the sorrows and struggles and disappointments of a poet and his longing for peace. Rademacher begins to feel only pity that the poet must continue to live; before the prospect of death there is no difference between them: "Wie armselig sind doch die Leute, die auch morgen noch leben müssen." (II, 389)

The problem of the four plays is presented in a comic situation in Literatur. Gilbert, the poet, and Margarethe have both used their mutual love experience as the basis of novels in which their correspondence is reproduced in its entirety. Besides this complication, there is the husband of Margarethe, who does not like the idea of being so publicly compromised. The matter becomes as disgusting to her as it is to her husband, and she appeases him by throwing her novel into the fire.

The unbounded conceit of both Gilbert and Margarethe and their evident utilitarianism in looking for material for their novels certainly leave no doubt that Schnitzler conceives of these two figures as literati, in the worst meaning of the word.

This same theme is touched upon in a different vein in Zwischenspiel. Albertus Rhon, poet, considers the situation of Amadeus and Cäcilie as material for a play. He comments upon them as if they were persons in a play. It belongs to his profession as poet that he should understand people (III, 165). He is keenly disappointed that the affair of Amadeus and Cäcilie doesn't end as it should in a well constructed play.

> Jetzt wäre doch der Augenblick, in dem ihr euch mit absoluter Sicherheit in die Arme stürztet, wenn ihr das Glück hättet, erfunden zu sein ... allerdings von einem andern als von mir. (III, 184)

The positive elements which we have found already as tendencies in some of the Schnitzler figures are not by any means wholly lacking in these plays here considered. It would seem that most of the artists do not live up to the standard of an inner law of necessity. There are some figures to whom this does not apply.

Fanny Theren in Das Märchen is certainly inwardly compelled to become an actress. She rises above a real experience to a feeling of self-confidence and strength.

Henri, the actor, in Der grüne Kakadu (1899) has a genuine experience of life. Although he is the principal actor in a play of the utmost confusion of illusion and reality, he holds fast to his love for his wife, and does not hesitate to commit murder upon her lover. To be sure, he nourishes the desire to quit acting altogether because he considers it a realm of artificiality.

Filippo Loschi, although the genuineness of his experience may be questioned, has the quality of self-irony, which keeps him from considering himself so important. He recognizes the limits of his art, that it is not profound.

> Auf leichten Flügeln rauscht mein Leben hin;
> Sie aber hängen schwere Worte dran,
> In ihre Tiefen es zu ziehn. Was ist mir
> Dies alles? Wo ich bin, gilt nicht, was unten
> Schicksal und Weg bestimmt.
> (II, 152)

He feels the tragedy of weakness and longs for a life of action.

> So einer möcht ich sein,
> Der festen Schritts und lächelnd vorwärts wandelt,
> Derselbe aufsteht und zur Ruh' sich legt,
> Nicht heute Gott und morgen Affe ist!
> (II, 248)

A much stronger character is Professor Wegrat in Der einsame Weg. He is modest and speaks with pleasant

irony of painting his picture every year for the exposition. He has a good heart and is loved by many friends. In contrast to Fichtner and Sala, he will not have to face old age alone.

There is, indeed, in Schnitzler a transition from a feeling of the complete relativity of all experience and a lack of faith in positive values, to a world with returning belief. In Das Märchen the artists describe themselves as belonging to a period of transition. The words may here have been meant in an entirely different sense, but they may stand symbolically for a real truth (I, 130-131). In Der einsame Weg, Sala speaks of young Felix as the representative of a better generation of people.

> Es scheint mir überhaupt, dass jetzt wieder
> ein besseres Geschlecht heranwächst, - mehr
> Haltung und weniger Geist. (III, 102)

Schnitzler's best plays, however, are filled with just such weak characters as we have here seen. There are no really great artists among them. Professor Wegrat could not, for instance, be put on the same level with Michael Kramer.

One thing seems not to change in these plays, the glorification of art. It alone has immortality, if it is great enough. The words of Duke Bentivoglio come to mind as he speaks of Filippo Loschi.

> Ein Lied von dem, verweht's der Zufall nicht -
> ist ew'ger als der kühnste unserer Siege,
> der wieder nur Vergängliches erringt!
> (II, 321)

There remains one other important problem in Schnitzler's artist-plays, that of the actor. Vienna was a city with active theaters at the end of the century and until the war. Schnitzler knew the world of actors, and many of them appear in his plays. Actor figures in Schnitzler's dramas include: Fanny Theren in Das Märchen, Henri in Der grüne Kakadu, Florian Jackwerth in Die letzten Masken, Frau Meinhold-Aigner in Das weite

Land (1910) and Konrad Herbot in Grosse Szene (1915).

The creative artist can find justification for his existence by creating an art which will endure. The reproducing artist, the actor and performing musician, cannot defend himself on this basis. The physician, Mauer, in Das weite Land says of the latter:

> Sie mögen so gross sein wie sie wollen, es bleibt doch nichts übrig als der Name und nichts von dem, was sie geleistet haben. (IV, 310)

An answer to the problem raised seems to be given in Grosse Szene. There can be no doubt that Konrad Herbot is a great actor. He has acted for twenty-seven years and enjoys wide-spread fame and popularity. He plays the leading roles in the theater repertoire. He appears to other people, and especially to his wife, as a very problematic person. All human emotions are to him only material with which to produce an effect on an audience. He has betrayed his wife again and again without any compunction of conscience. She would feel like pardoning him if he were merely unscrupulous, but he is not conscious of what he is doing. She says:

> Man kann zu einem zurück, der bereut, auch zu einem, der nicht bereut. Aber er muss doch wissen, was er getan hat. Herbot weiss es nicht. Er versteht nichts von mir und nichts von sich und nichts von den andern. Liebe, Betrug, Mord, alles das wiegt in der Wirklichkeit nicht schwerer für ihn als wenn es in einer seiner Rollen stünde. (V, 243)

Konrad is emotionally a naive child who needs indulgence. Falk, the theater director gently chides Sophie for demanding scruples from Herbot, saying that she has read too much Ibsen:

> Mit Gewissensskrupeln hat er sich nie abgegeben. Er ist eine viel zu elementare, sagen wir doch rund heraus, eine zu gesunde Natur. (V, 215)

Although a child, Herbot's feelings are genuine. It would be an irreparable loss to him if Sophie should leave him. He feels dependent upon her and refuses to play Hamlet unless she sits in the box. This, too, is a childish means of forcing Sophie to change her mind. She does do so for the sake of the waiting audience, although reluctantly and unconvinced of Konrad's sincerity.

In addition to the healthy, if childish, strength of Konrad, there is also a delightful sense of self-irony. He is not conceited.

> Aber das Tollste, das sind wir selber, wir Komödianten, im Leben doch zum Teil vernünftige Leute. Wir stellen uns da hin und deklamieren irgend auswendig gelerntes Zeug, als wenn's uns ganz und gar ernst wäre und treten auf und treten ab; - und da unten sitzen sie und sperren das Maul auf und klatschen in die Hände. Unglaublich. Dass sie nur auf so was hineinfallen. Weisst du, was ich manchmal denke? Diese ganze dramatische Kunst ist eigentlich nur eine Erfindung der Theaterkassiere. (V, 221-222)

In spite of the positive traits of some of Schnitzler's artist figures, the general impression one gets from his early plays is that of a world of transitory values, with death the only certainty. In this world the artist is one of the most problematic of men, for he is the most sensitive, and, therefore, the most dependent upon moods of the moment. Seldom does he attain any power of control over himself. Too weak to live in the real world, he has retired into a world of illusion and beautiful forms. Art becomes the justification of his existence.

Art itself may belong merely to the moment or it may endure for ages. Real art is unquestionably its own justification in Schnitzler's plays. Its value is not doubted even by those who attack the artists most severely. We have here again in Neo-romanticism a glorification of art similar to that of the earlier Romantic period.

Hofmannsthal is not so much concerned with the problematic nature of the artist as Schnitzler. He is so much concerned with art and beauty that he turns most of his energy to their glorification. That he also experiences life impressionistically has already been pointed out. His analysis of the poet in "Der Dichter und diese Zeit" emphasizes the subjection of the ego to the sensations of the moment. Gestern (1891), Der Tor und der Tod (1893) and Der Abenteurer und die Sängerin (1899) treat this problem as a general one, not restricted to artists alone. Der Tod des Tizian (1892) is not entirely free of the same problem, although the great painter does not appear in the scene.

Der Tod des Tizian, a dramatic fragment from the year 1892, is a paean of praise to the artist who even in the ninety-ninth and last year of his life vibrates in all fibers of his soul with the passion of creation, who even feels that he sees new solutions to old problems and that he can surpass all his previous works. Here, then, is an artist who after such a long life still feels the moment intensely, and can change himself. We feel here, however, a force of will not known in Schnitzler artists - for example.

Tizian himself does not appear, for he is seriously ill. His pupils in magnificent verses discuss the art of the master.

Desiderio speaks of the contrast between this world in which beauty is cultivated and the world outside the enclosure of the master's gardens. Outside is ugliness, vulgarity, and bestiality; the people of the city are strangers to the real meaning of beauty.

> Denn unsre Wonne oder unsre Pein
> Hat mit der ihren nur das Wort gemein ...
> Und liegen wir in tiefem Schlaf befangen,
> So gleicht der unsre ihrem Schlafe nicht:
> Da schlafen Purpurblüten, goldne Schlangen,
> Da schläft ein Berg, in dem Titanen hämmern -
> Sie aber schlafen, wie die Austern dämmern.
> (I, 68)[17]

17. Reference to Hofmannsthal's plays are to Gesammelte Werke (Berlin, 1924).

All things have received a meaning through the master.

Er hat den Wolken, die vorüber schweben,
Den wesenlosen, einen Sinn gegeben;
Der blassen, weissen schleierhaftes Dehnen
Gedeutet in ein blasses, süsses Sehnen;
Der mächtgen goldumrandet schwarzes Wallen
Und runde, graue, die sich lachend ballen,
Und rosig silberne, die abends ziehn:
Sie haben Seele, haben Sinn durch ihn.
(I, 70)

This meaning, this soul which things receive from the master's hand is beauty.

Er hat uns aufgeweckt aus halber Nacht
Und unsre Seelen licht und reich gemacht
Und uns gewiesen, jedes Tages Fliessen
Und Fluten als ein Schauspiel zu geniessen,
Die Schönheit aller Formen zu verstehen
Und unsrem eignen Leben zuzusehen.
Die Frauen und die Blumen und die Wellen
Und Seide, Gold und bunter Steine Strahl
Und hohe Brücken und das Frühlingstal
Mit blonden Nymphen an kristallnen Quellen,
Und was ein jeder nur zu traümen liebt
Und was uns wachend Herrliches umgibt:
Hat seine grosse Schönheit erst empfangen,
Seit es durch seine Seele durchgegangen.
(I, 71)

The artist brings rhythm and harmony into everything he sees.

Ein Auge, ein harmonisch Element,
In dem die Schönheit erst sich selbst erkennt -
Das fand Natur in seines Wesens Strahl.
(I, 71)

The play remains a fragment, but we feel that it is complete as a poem. The pupils of the master wish to receive into themselves the spirit of the dying master

so that they too can find beauty as he did.

> Die aber wie der Meister sind, die gehen,
> Und Schönheit wird und Sinn, wohin sie sehen.
> (I, 75)

From this figure of the dying Tizian comes evidence of strength which is uncommon to the artists of Schnitzler. Whereas Schnitzler describes weak artists of his own day, Hofmannsthal returns to the time of the Renaissance for figures which represent all the glamor and color of a time of real worship of art. This tendency is very important in the Neo-romantic movement, and is due no doubt, in great part, to Hofmannsthal's influence.

Der Abenteurer und die Sängerin offers already a solution of the problem of the ego dissolved into sensations. Taken from an episode in Casanova's life, it presents a strong contrast between the adventurer, Antonio, and the singer, Vittoria. They had once belonged to each other. Now, after years have passed, their love is just a long-past episode to Antonio, and it has filled Vittoria's life with meaning. Feeling the great importance of this event in her life, she comes to him, but when she learns how little it has meant to him, she finds strength in herself to turn from him and fight for her present happiness.

The two things which their love has left to Vittoria and given her life full meaning, are her music and her son. Our interest is here in the role of music in her life.

The immediate result of Antonio's departure was the birth of a wonderful voice which now fills thousands with joy.

> Als du mich liessest, stand ich ganz im Finstern
> und wie ein Vogel an den dunklen Zweigen
> hinflattert, suchte meine Stimme dich.
> Du warst im Leben, dies war mir genug.
> Ich sang, da warst du da, ich weiss nicht wie,
> ich meinte manches Mal, du wärst ganz nah

und meine Töne könnten aus der Luft
dich holen, wie die Klauen eines Adlers.
Es wurden Inseln in der Luft, auf denen
du lagest, wenn ich sang. Und immer war mir,
als rief ich nur das Eine: Er ist schuld,
an allen Wonnen er, an allen Qualen!
Merkt nicht auf mich! Er ist es, der euch rührt!
Und meine Klagen senkten sich hinab
wie tiefe Stiegen, unten schlugen Tore
wie ferner Donner zu, die ganze Welt
umspannte meine Stimme und auch dich,
du warst in ihr.
(V, 51)

That Antonio has been the spark that has lighted this divine flame in her is no merit of his own, but gives her something for which she will fight. She feels herself to be the vehicle of something belonging to God.

Bin ich nicht die Musik, die er erschuf,
ich und mein Kind? Ist Feuer nicht in uns,
was Feuer einst in seiner Seele war?
Was gilt das Scheit daran sie sich entzündet:
die Flamme ist dem höchsten Gott verbündet!
(V, 111-112)

Thomas Mann regards with suspicion any cultivation of art for art's sake, and the obligations of the artist to the bourgeois world is a constant problem in his works. In his Fiorenza (1905) the world of aestheticism is contrasted to that of asceticism. Although the demands of Savonarola are extreme and unacceptable to any lover of art, the suggestion of the play is that morality and ethics do have a claim upon the artist.

Lorenzo, who is dying, defends the aesthetic ideals of his city from the attacks of the pryor, who objects especially to the liberalism of assigning only relative values to things of the spirit.

Ich hasse diese schnöde Gerechtigkeit, dies
lüsterne Verstehen, diese lasterhafte Duldung
des Gegenteils! (p. 220)[18]

18. Reference is to Fiorenza (Berlin, 1922).

Lorenzo, on the defense:

> Der Tod ist es, den du als Geist verkündigst,
> und alles Lebens Leben ist die Kunst!
> (pp. 224-225)

Hofmannsthal's Der Tod des Tizian and Thomas Mann's Fiorenza are only two of a group of plays with Italian Renaissance background, in which artists appear. Others are Brann's Andrea del Sarto (1905), Bodman's Donatello (1907), Bab's Der Andere (1907) and Tintoretto (1905) by the Danish dramatist Holger Drachmann.

The occurrence of so many plays about Renaissance artists at this time[19] represents a significant direction of interest of the Neo-romantic movement. The influence of Nietzsche has already been noted, but his studies and those of Burkhard appeared much earlier than this. It seems more likely that the translation of Gobineau's Renaissance (1877) by Ludwig Schemann in the years 1891-1894, during which the scenes appeared singly in the "Bayreuther Blätter," - in book form in 1896 -, may have had a great deal of influence, even on Hofmannsthal, who begins with Gestern in 1891.

Gobineau's Renaissance is a series of historical sketches in dramatic form. There are five sections, each dominated by a single figure: Savonarola, Caesar Borgia, Julius II, Leo X, and Michelangelo. Gobineau (1816-1882) has attempted here to reproduce in psychological vividness the life of the Renaissance. The book was generally influential, and in Germany there was a Gobineau-Vereinigung founded in 1894 under the leadership of Ludwig Schemann, librarian at Göttingen.

Neo-romanticism, like the Romantic period of the beginning of the nineteenth century, glorifies art to the extent of making it the object of worship. The attention of the artists turns away from the world of reality to the world of beautiful forms and illusions. The artist as the medium through which art is produced is

19. Other Renaissance plays of these years are Stefan Zweig's Tersites (1907), Leo Greiner's Herzog Boccaneras Ende (1908) and Emil Ludwig's Die Borgia (1907) and Der Papst und die Abenteurer (1910).

exalted above other people, and accorded many prerogatives.

The Neo-romantic artist, however, is weak. His experience of reality is impressionistic, and his ego becomes dissolved in sensations which cause him suffering and a morbid enjoyment. This weakness of his nature makes the value of his art questionable. Especially in Schnitzler is this problem treated, and one can notice the growing realization that a great artist must be able to overcome this weakness. He must create from inner compulsion and his relationship to his materials must be honest.

In the same way, the artist who flees his obligations to society or to individuals must realize the falseness of this position. Although Schnitzler seems to reach this conclusion, he has not created any really great artist figures. Most of them are just such weak, morbid, self-dramatizing decadent artists. Whereas in Schnitzler we find an impressionistic disintegration, in Hofmannsthal we see the real integrative strength of the Neo-romantic movement.

In the figures of Tizián and Vittoria, Hofmannsthal has succeeded better than Schnitzler in creating artists in whom we believe, because we see their elements of strength. Tizian is glorified as the inexhaustible source of great art. He has fulfilled to the utmost the mission of creating beauty and meaning in the world.

We see several distinct differences between the Neo-romantic and Naturalistic artist. The former is not concerned about social problems, for he loves art for its own sake and not as a means for the improvement of mankind. It follows that he is not concerned with the Naturalistic idea of ideal humanity. The Naturalist is interested in the use of the results of natural sciences in his analysis of the outside world. The Neo-romanticist turns his attention to himself, and with the discoveries of psychology attempts to analyze himself. In general, the attention of the Naturalist is directed toward the outside world, and that of the Neo-romanticist is directed inwardly. The theories of Naturalism tend to a negation of art by an attempt to reproduce nature exactly, those of Neo-romanticism tend to the same thing by cutting art off from its roots and means of nourishment, in a realm of pure forms.

IV. EXPRESSIONISM: WEDEKIND AND SORGE

Wedekind is generally regarded to be the forerunner of the Expressionistic drama in Germany, which flourished particularly in the years from 1910 to 1925. Although the roots of the movement reach back even farther to Hölderlin, Büchner, Grabbe, Lenz and Kleist,[1] the more immediate influences on the drama were Wedekind and Strindberg. Wedekind's first play appeared in 1889, the same year of Hauptmann's first drama, and we see, therefore, the three main movements of modern German literature having their beginnings around 1890.

Expressionism, like Naturalism and Neo-romanticism, began as a revolt, and in this case there was a revolt against the last two. Naturalism was attacked because of its elevation of mere things, and its emphasis on materialism and mechanistic science. Man as solely the product of heredity and environment, appeared to Wedekind too weak, and the Naturalistic artist as the slavish observer of minute details in life appeared to him ridiculous. This feeling was common among the later representatives of the movement.

Neo-romanticism was attacked in its two most characteristic points, its dissolution of the ego into mere sensations and its aestheticism. It was especially against Mach's relativism that the Expressionist rebelled. In the field of psychology and philosophy an attack was made upon Mach's psychology by Edmund Husserl (1859-) in his Logische Untersuchungen (1900-01). Husserl wished to replace the relativistic psychology by a pure logic which was not dependent upon outward experience, in other words, by the Absolute. In his Ideen zu einer reinen Phänomenologie und phänomenologischen Philosophie (1913) he advanced his ideas further, founding them upon intuitive perceptions of the essence of things. Henri Bergson's philosophy of creative evolution had an

1. See Edschmid, Über den Expressionismus in der Literatur und die neue Dichtung (Berlin, 1920), p. 22.

influence upon Husserl, and the two of them had a profound influence on the philosophical thought of the Expressionistic movement.

The Expressionistic movement was also a revolt against prevailing conditions in the world and in society, as well as a revolt of a younger against an older generation. It was especially the chaotic conditions of a rapidly changing world which brought unrest and dissatisfaction. Youth rebelled against bourgeois bonds of a false morality and against the lifeless traditions of social institutions. The sharp criticism of moral conditions by Shaw and Strindberg had a great influence on the moralistic urge of a rebellious generation. Wedekind's social satires furnish a starting point for such later dramatists as Kaiser and Sternheim.

The first forms of Expressionism in German literature tended toward the baroque and grotesque in language and spirit. From within the Neo-romantic movement came already an increasing emphasis upon sharp contrasts and violent emotions, and a corresponding change of the language toward stronger and pathetic gestures. In Hofmannsthal there are evidences of the baroque spirit, and from Italy's D'Annunzio came the strongest influence in this direction, from his love of the unusual and of violent displays of passion.

In Wedekind the same spirit leads to caricatures and the grotesque. This is the result of the urge toward contraction of characters to their essential elements, which is a basic concept of Expressionism.[2]

The direction of the development of Expressionism before the war is indicated by Reinhard Sorge's Der Bettler (1912). This play exemplifies the religious aspect of the movement which is considered to be its essence.[3] This drama is filled with an ecstatic religious mysticism.

The World War came in the midst of the development of the movement, and, after a period of nationalistic enthusiasm, caused a reconsideration of German values, especially traditional ideas of German idealism.

2. Duwe, Deutsche Dichtung des 20. Jahrhunderts (Zürich-Leipzig, 1936), p. 1.
3. Paulsen, Expressionismus und Aktivismus (Bern und Leipzig, 1935), p. 12. Edschmid, op. cit., p. 26.

Much of this idealism was regarded as false, as having grown materialistic, as no longer having its roots in the German himself. Romain Rolland's Jean Christophe (1904-1912) had already before the war revealed the materialistic aspect of German idealism. In Germany, Walther Rathenau preached against the increasing mechanization of the world and for a return to spiritual ideals.

Toward the end of the war a new attitude among artists and writers of the time appeared which has been distinguished from that of Expressionism by Paulsen, although it has very often been confused with it by others. Certain writers became active in the political life of Germany, mostly in opposition to the war, and interested in establishing some form of socialism or communism. Such a group, for instance, was active in the communistic uprising in Munich at the end of the war.

Paulsen, in his Expressionismus und Aktivismus, contrasts the two spirits, and finds them to be opposites. The former is religious and wishes to overcome the world of reality for the sake of the beyond; the latter is political, and wants to change the world for social purposes. The expressionist is a creator of his own world, a dreamer, visionary and a seeker after God; the activist is a theorist, who uses literature and art for the purpose of the advancement of his ideas. The former spirit is gothic, baroque and romantic, the latter is rationalistic, Jungdeutsch and naturalistic (pp. 12-15).

Kasimir Edschmid is the leading theorist of the Expressionistic movement. He has expressed the main ideas of it in two essays based closely upon two speeches, one in December 1917 before the "Deutsche Gesellschaft" and the "Bund deutscher Künstler und Gelehrter" and the other in May 1918 in Stockholm, Göteborg and Lund.

The latter of these speeches Edschmid calls "Über die dichterische deutsche Jugend." In it he speaks of the enthusiasm of the younger generation which constituted the movement. He calls the movement a revolution of the spirit (p. 13).[4] The human soul is

4. This and the following references are to Über den Expressionismus, which contains the two speeches.

supreme again and the Naturalistic interest in mere things has been overcome.

> Grösser entfachtes Weltgefühl schafft die Kunst zur Vision. Nun diktiert der Geist, wohl eng verschmolzen der Materie, doch sie gestaltend, nicht in ihrer Abhängigkeit. ----- wir wollen den Naturalismus aufpeitschen zu fanatischer Vision. Das Ding vergewaltigen im Geist ....! (p. 32)

Edschmid pays his respect to Stefan George for his service in emphasizing the value of form in art, but he shows how such a movement ended in a lifeless aestheticism and a glorification of the beautiful Decadence (pp. 45-46).

Impressionism is rejected as art of the moment, of nervous impressions, which could give only the outside of things and never their real nature (pp. 47-49). Expressionism has restored metaphysical feeling, has returned to the original and essential core of all things.

> Vor allem gab es gegen das Atomische, Verstückte der Impressionisten nun ein grosses, umspannendes Weltgefühl.
>
> In ihm stand die Erde, das Dasein als eine grosse Vision. Es gab Gefühle darin und Menschen. Sie sollten erfasst werden im Kern und im Ursprünglichen. (p. 52)

From the world of appearances and illusions the Expressionist returns to the essential, the typical, that which has value in eternity, that is, to the soul, spirit and ideal humanity.

> Der Weg der Dichtung unserer Tage führt aus der Hülle zur Seele, aus dem Rang zum Menschen, vom Schildern zum Geist. Die Kunst wird positiv, sie zerfetzt den Menschen nicht mehr, sie gibt den Kosmos in seine Lunge. (p. 23)

Ethics, morality and religion become again the primary concern of art.

> Das Neue geht weit über Literatur, wird schon Frage der Moralität.
>
> Solche Dichtung ist ethisch von selbst: der Mensch vor die Ewigkeit gestellt.
>
> Keine Predigt.
>
> Nie erbauende Literatur.
>
> Aber Wille zur Steigerung und Hebung der Menschen ... ihr Gehalt.
>
> Drei kreisende Ringe in der Brust, die seit Ewigkeit grosse Kunst bewegten ... dies ist, was sie erfüllt auf dem Wege: Liebe, Gott, Gerechtigkeit. (pp. 26-27)

The Naturalist and the Impressionist were concerned about reproducing outward reality or subjective sensations. The Expressionist does not accept the outward reality; therefore, his mode of experience is direct and intuitive, and he reproduces the world not through observation but through "vision."

> Die Realität muss von uns geschaffen werden. Der Sinn des Gegenstands muss erwühlt sein. Begnügt darf sich nicht werden mit der geglaubten, gewähnten, notierten Tatsache, es muss das Bild der Welt rein und unverfälscht gespiegelt werden. Das aber ist nur in uns selbst.
>
> So wird der ganze Raum des expressionistischen Künstlers Vision. Er sieht nicht, er schaut. Er schildert nicht, er erlebt. Er gibt nicht wieder, er gestaltet. Er nimmt nicht, er sucht. Nun gibt es nicht mehr die Kette der Tatsachen: Fabriken, Haüser, Krankheit, Huren, Geschrei und Hunger. Nun gibt es ihre Vision. (pp. 53-54)

This mode of experience is based upon mystic feeling similar to that described as ecstasy by the Neo-Platonists, many centuries ago. Edschmid describes it thus:

> Sein grosses Gefühl allein, kein verfälschtes Denken, führt ihn und leitet ihn.
>
> So kann er sich steigern und zu Begeisterungen

> kommen, grosse Ekstasen aus seiner Seele aufschwingen lassen. (p. 59)

The Expressionist creates out of this direct, mystic experience and does not depend upon the usual psychology, which can give only analysis, but cannot reach the essence of things (p. 60).

Expressionistic art is positive, intuitive, elemental, direct, primitive and simple (p. 61). It is an ethical art, above national boundaries (p. 70), and spiritual, being concerned preeminently with the human soul.

From these two essays we get a view of an artist quite different from the Naturalist and Neo-romanticist. The Expressionist is a man of will who creates out of himself a new world of absolute values, religious and ethical. He is a man of strength who rises above any natural restraints by sheer force of feeling and ecstasy.

Wedekind felt an instinctive opposition to both Naturalism and Neo-romanticism. Having lived a completely unrestrained and even irresponsible life, he had no patience with the weakness of the literary characters current in the literature of both movements.

> So empfand er den Menschen gewiss nicht wie die Naturalisten oder die Neuromantiker als das tausendfach bestimmte Glied des Ganzen, als den rätselhaften Treffpunkt dunkler Kräfte, er nahm ihn als eine souveräne, selbst Schicksal bildende Gewalt, nicht als eine geistige und sittliche Potenz, sondern als elementare, sinnliche Naturkraft.[5]

In his Die Junge Welt (1889) Wedekind parodies a Naturalistic poet who writes realistic social dramas from studies he makes on his friends. Franz Ludwig Meyer bases a play on the confidential story of family difficulties of his friend Karl. Meyer blames Karl for the failure of the play, saying that he either lied to him or had not lived realistically.

5. Julius Bab in Arnold, Das deutsche Drama (München, 1925), pp. 772-773.

He goes about with a notebook in his hand making careful observations. His wife objects to the registration of even her reactions to intimacies and he is reduced to observing himself.

> Ich habe Alma nicht den geringsten Vorwurf zu machen. Aber wenn ich meine naturalistischen Studien an Alma machte, dann wurde Alma unnatürlich. Wenn ich meine naturalistischen Studien an einem andern Object machte, dann wurde sie eifersüchtig. So blieb mir denn nichts mehr übrig, als meine naturalistischen Studien an mir selber zu machen. (II, 88)[6]

He is near insanity when Karl steps in to try to get Meyer to abandon his false notions about art: "Der wahre Poet dichtet ja nicht, indem er die Menschen belauert, sondern indem er seine helle Freude an den Menschen hat." (II, 90)

In other plays Wedekind continues to attack the weakness of the characters in Naturalistic literature. In the Prologue to Erdgeist (1893) contemptuous reference is made to the figures of College Crampton, Wilhelm in Das Friedensfest and Johannes Vockerat in Einsame Menschen. Alma Schön, writer in Die Büchse der Pandora (1901) speaks of modern literature thus:

> Seit zwanzig Jahren bringt die Literatur nichts als Halbmenschen zustande; Männer, die keine Kinder machen und Weiber, die keine gebären können. Das nennt man 'modernes Problem.' (III, 136)

In contrast to this weakness of character, Wedekind attempts to show characters embodying strong sensual passions. In his search for the absolute in a world morally confused and turbulent he turns to a glorification of the animal instincts as the ultimate truth. In the animal he sees the only true beauty.

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6. References to Wedekind's plays are to Gesammelte Werke (München, 1924).

> Das wahre Tier, das wilde, schöne Tier,
> Das - meine Damen - sehn Sie nur bei mir.
> (Erdgeist prologue, III, 8.)

Alma Schön, in Die Büchse der Pandora looks for his materials among men who are ruled only by their animal instincts and hopes from them to produce a new vigorous art.

> Um wieder auf die Fährte einer grossen gewaltigen Kunst zu gelangen, müssten wir uns möglichst viel unter Menschen bewegen, die nie in ihrem Leben ein Buch gelesen haben, denen die einfachsten animalischen Instinkte bei ihren Handlungen massgebend sind. (III, 125-126)

Wedekind's fight was for him a struggle for a new morality, and he wanted to hold up to the world a mirror of its falsities. The grotesqueness of his art, however, caused the public to laugh. This caused Wedekind to take himself even more seriously and to feel himself a tragically misunderstood author. More and more he came to defend himself in his plays and to portray himself in them with deadly irony.

Der Kammersänger (1897) comes earlier than these passionate self-defenses, but here already one can feel a beginning of it.

Gerardo, a Wagnerian opera singer, speaks of himself as a slave to his art, who is a mere tool in the hands of the master.

> Sehen Sie in mir keinen berühmten Sänger, sondern das unwürdige Werkzeug in der Hand eines erhabenen Meisters. (III, 212)

For the sake of his art and a diversion-seeking public he is sacrificing his own personal happiness. He has no freedom whatsoever.

> Ich habe für den Fremdesten, der mich um materielle Hilfe angeht, eine offne Hand, obschon das, was ich meinem Beruf an Lebensglück opfere, mit

> fünfmalhunderttausend Francs im Jahr nicht bezahlt ist. Aber verlangen Sie die kleinste Äusserung persönlicher Freiheit von mir, so ist das von einem Sklaven, wie ich es bin, zu viel verlangt. (III, 221)

In contrast to Professor Dühring, who feels inwardly compelled to be an artist, Gerardo feels only that he is supplying an article of luxury to the bourgeois, for which they pay their money.

> Wir Künstler sind ein Luxusartikel der Bourgeoisie, zu dessen Bezahlung man sich gegenseitig überbietet. (III, 224)

The artist is merely another economic factor in the commerce of a nation, giving business to people of all professions.

> Wenn man mich mit einer halben Million bezahlt, so setze ich dafür eine Legion von Droschkenkutschern, von Schriftstellern, von Putzmacherinnen, von Blumenzüchtern, von Bierwirten in Brot. Das Geld kommt in Umlauf. Das Blut kommt in Umlauf. Die jungen Mädchen verloben sich, die alten Jungfern heiraten sich, die Gattinnen fallen dem Hausfreund zum Opfer, und die Grossmütter bekommen eine Unmenge Stoff zum Klatschen. Unglüchsfälle und Verbrechen geschehen. An der Kasse wird ein Kind totgetreten, einer Dame wird das Portemonnaie gestohlen, ein Herr im Theater wird vom Wahnsinn befallen. Dadurch verdienen die Ärzte, die Advokaten. -- (III, 225)

Not only is the artist just a part of the commercial system but he is held in contempt by society, because he makes a show of himself.

> Was bin ich in den Augen deiner Gesellschaft! Ein Mensch, der sich allabendlich zum Hanswurst macht! (III, 234)

This play is an ironic self-defense of the artist's place in society. Wedekind's later plays increase in grotesque irony, but add also the tragic feeling of being misunderstood. In König Nicolo (1901) the latter element predominates.

King Nicolo has been banished from his throne and wanders about with his daughter in rags. At the Elendenkirchweih he performs a tragic monologue bemoaning his fate, and he is greeted by great applause as a comic actor. The King protests his genuine feelings and defends himself in vain against being taken as a comedian. It is as if Wedekind himself speaks:

> Ich bin der Herrscher hier in diesem Land,
> Von Gott ernannt, von niemand erkannt!
> (IV, 149)

> Geehrte Zuhörer! Mein Fach auf der Bühne
> ist die grosse ernste Tragödie! (IV, 150)

King Nicolo is hired by a director of a wandering troop of actors, and is brought before the new king to play his now famous king-farce. Only the new king, Pietro, sees the play as tragic, and is amazed that the people laugh at it as high-comedy. King Pietro hires Nicolo as court-fool in order to protect the dignity of his office.

> Wohlan denn, wenn das Leben so ist, dann soll
> mein Volk dich nicht eher wieder hören, als
> bis es dich auch versteht, denn sonst unter-
> gräbt dein Spiel nur die Würde meines Amtes.
> (IV, 171)

King Nicolo, the court-fool, dies without being recognized.

Hidalla (1903-1904), later called Karl Hetmann, der Zwergriese, mixes the elements of grotesque irony and tragedy in such a way as to give an uncanny effect. This play is a defense of Wedekind's ideals of beauty in the animal instincts, which he conceives of as a new morality.

Karl Hetmann enters as the secretary of the "Internationaler Verein zur Züchtung von Rassemenschen," proclaiming a new morality, whose highest law is beauty. This new morality does not abolish the old morality which has as its purpose the alleviation of suffering. That is for the poor. This new morality is for the rich, and its goal is the raising of men to an evaluation of beauty above material possessions, which would bring them nearer God.

> Wenn die Menschen dazu emporsteigen, die Schönheit höher zu achten, als Hab und Gut, als Leib und Leben, dann sind die Menschen der Gottheit um eine Stufe näher, als wenn der Sieg über die Erdenqual ihr höchster Preis ist! (IV, 206)

The main objects of his attack against bourgeois morality are three barbaric forms which he considers as belonging to the Middle Ages:

> Die wie ein wildes Tier aus der menschlichen Gemeinschaft hinausgehetzte Dirne; das zu körperlicher und geistiger Krüppelhaftigkeit verurteilte, um sein ganzes Liebesleben betrogene alte Mädchen; und die zum Zweck einer möglichst günstigen Verheiratung gewahrte Unberührtheit des jungen Weibes. (IV, 238)

This fanatical idealist is engaged by Rudolf Launhart to write articles for a newspaper, which makes a lot of money until the censors and police come. Launhart escapes and Hetmann sits in jail. Later Hetmann is again used by Launhart for advertising purposes, so that he makes lots of money out of him. Hetmann is put into an insane asylum, is declared sane and released, only to be offered the job as "dummer August" in the circus, where he would only have to act natural to be a big attraction.

> Der dumme August fällt, wie Sie wissen, über jedes Hindernis, kommt überall gerade im richtigen Moment zu spät, will immer Leuten

> helfen, die es zehnmal besser verstehen als er,
> und weiss vor allem nie, weshalb das Publikum
> über ihn lacht. (IV, 264)

Hetmann is deeply shocked and hurt, but accepts the offer, withdraws and hangs himself.

Here, then, is the bitter irony of the fanatic idealist, fighting for a morality of beauty, being exploited by a money-mad world, and even being written about in a doctor's dissertation. His friends are few, and even those he denies, for he has only one wish, to retain his freedom, by remaining completely alone in the world.

Die Zensur (1907) is Wedekind's most deliberate defense of himself, by means of which he wanted to make his aims perfectly clear and to achieve the more immediate purpose of getting his Pandora released from the censors.

The poet's name, Buridan, symbolizes his wavering, in this dramatic "Theodizee in einem Akt," between animal sensuality on the one hand and spirituality on the other. He loves Kadidja, the embodiment of fleshliness, because he sees in her infinite possibilities. She, however, lacks any spiritual qualities. In order to achieve the harmony between beauty and sensuality, he would like to reform her, but she casts herself from the window. The play ends with the poet upon his knees, praying in anguish for Kadidja, "das herrlichste Geschöpf, die grösste Seele, die in deiner Schöpfung lebt" (V, 140) and calling out to the unfathomable mystery of God.

Buridan's problem, which he does not here succeed in solving, is that of restoring the harmony between beauty and spirit, which has been destroyed by a lack of religious spirit and true reverence in the world.

> Ich sehe seit Jahren nicht ein, warum die
> Verehrung, die wir schönen Farben, schönen
> Körpern, der ganzen Schöpfungspracht entgegenbringen, warum sich diese Gefühle ewig in den
> Haaren liegen sollen! Das war früher anders,

> als sich die Anbetung des Geistes mit der Verehrung menschlicher Schönheit unter demselben Tempeldach zusammenfanden. Warum soll das nicht wieder anders werden! Der Streit kommt nur daher, dass wir die erhabene Schönheit geistiger Gesetzmässigkeit so wenig würdigen, wie wir die unerbittliche Gesetzmässigkeit körperlicher Schönheit einsehen. ---- Die Freude am Geist, die Ehrerbietung vor der Erscheinungswelt, das sind die beiden Elemente, die ich, bevor ich sterbe, noch miteinander aussöhnen möchte. (V, 120)

In the center of this play there is the long dialogue between Buridan and Dr. Prantl, secretary to the Confessor of His Majesty, who represents the censorship authority of the State. He comes under the impression that Buridan wants to have a marriage ceremony performed with Kadidja. This is not true, and there follows a long discussion of Buridan's conflict with public morality. Dr. Prantl makes the accusations that Buridan's plays have a very harmful effect on the moral sensibilities of the public, that he lacks seriousness of purpose, takes joy in the suffering of people and ridicules the divine. He accuses him of wanting to combine the church and the brothel in a future socialistic state. (V, 132)

Buridan disputes Dr. Prantl's claim that the drama is supposed only to entertain and teach moral lessons. He conceives of the drama as reflecting the eternal laws of the universe and reproducing in all seriousness the inexorable consequences of human actions.

> In keiner meiner Arbeiten habe ich das Gute als schlecht oder das Schlechte als gut hingestellt. Ich habe die Folgen, die dem Menschen aus seinen Handlungen erwachsen, nirgends gefälscht. Ich habe diese Folgen überall immer nur in ihrer unerbittlichen Notwendigkeit zur Anschauung gebracht. (V, 125)

The principles which he strives for in his plays are the same as the Logos of St. John and the Holy Spirit of Christianity. (V, 125)

Buridan defends himself against irreligion or lack of faith. On the contrary, religion is to him the most important thing in life and art. He envies Dr. Prantl the joy of being able to serve actively for the cause of religion; all beauty and all joy in the world lose their meaning without religion. Reconciliation with the church is his most ardent desire.

> Ich wüsste auch nichts, was mir in dieser Welt so lieb wäre, dass ich es nicht kalten Blutes opferte, wenn mich das Opfer mit dem, was ich als Höchstes, als Ewiges anbete, aussöhnen könnte. (V, 130)

The religion to which Buridan has devoted his life is, however, a religion of beauty and holiness.

> Die Wiedervereinigung von Heiligkeit und Schönheit als göttliches Idol gläubiger Allmacht, das ist das Ziel, dem ich mein Leben opfere, dem ich seit frühster Kindheit zustrebe. (V, 131)

Another difference between Buridan's religion and that of Dr. Prantl is that his is based upon "Vernunft" and Dr. Prantl's upon Faith. Against the charge of heartlessness, Buridan claims that human goodness is the highest product of his kind of religion.

> Ich kenne keinen heiligeren Besitz in dieser Welt als den Besitz an geliebten Menschen! So wahr wie ich keine Gottheit anerkennen kann als die höchste Entfaltung der uns offenbarten Vernunft - schon aus dem einzigen Grunde, weil das höchste, das edelste Ergebnis der uns offenbarten Vernunft die menschliche Güte ist, während Sie mit aller erdenklichen Herzensgüte nie dazu gelangen, sich Vernunft zu erkämpfen! (V, 131-132)

Dr. Prantl with his religion based upon a transcendant God can find no understanding for Buridan's feeling, and the appearance of Kadidja confirms his belief that Buridan is nothing less than satanic.

On the face of it, it would seem that Wedekind's glorification of the animal instincts and his denial of the beyond are in opposition to the religious and transcendant spirit of Expressionism. His relationship to the instincts which he exalts is the same ecstatic feeling which is the very essence of Expressionism.[7] There is, however, something of an activistic spirit in Wedekind, his emphasis on the "Vernunft" and the very purpose of Die Zensur, a calculated effect upon the censors.

Recognizing the Expressionistic elements in Wedekind, there remains still the question of the artist figures created by Wedekind. His caricatures of Naturalism are significant as to the attitudes of Expressionism toward that movement, but they reveal nothing of the inner nature of an Expressionistic artist. It is in the dramas of self-defense that we must look.

Gerardo, the singer, represents an ironic statement of the position of the artist in society, who sacrifices all his personal happiness to an art which is a luxury paid for by the bourgeois.

King Nicolo, Karl Hetmann and Buridan show several Expressionistic characteristics, on the one hand, the ecstatic nature of their experience and on the other, their fanatic idealism, which has many religious elements. There is an absolute will, which is not disturbed by attacks from the public.

Wedekind's ideal of the beauty of purely animal instincts represents one direction of Expressionistic will. Reinhard Sorge's Der Bettler (1912) illustrates the opposite direction, the transcendental spirituality of the movement. The portent of the play is indicated by its sub-title, "Eine Dramatische Sendung."

Although this play may have been surpassed in that respect since the war, it represents a high point in the development of Expressionistic stage technique before the war, in its quick shifts of scenes and its use of lights for singling out a single character or group of characters from an otherwise dark stage. Also the characters are not named - we have just the Poet, the Father, the Mother, the Girl.

7. See Paulsen, Expressionismus und Aktivismus, pp. 173-174.

The action of the play proceeds symbolically, showing the gradual clarification of the Poet's consciousness of his divine mission. To follow this development, is to see unfolding the whole world of the Expressionism of religious ecstasy and of relentness pursuance of a religious ideal.

The Poet is seeking an opportunity for producing his plays. A friend has found a man of wealth who would be interested in supporting the Poet. The latter, however, wants not only financial support, he desires a new theater, for his works are too strange and new for the old theaters.

A play has been presented, and various people meet in a cafe afterwards. Men reading newspapers are there; many others come and go. Three theater critics discuss the play which has been presented. They find it mediocre, and therefore a success. There is the need for a new poet who can really interpret the world anew.

> Wir warten auf einen, der uns unser Schicksal
> neu deutet, den nenne ich dann Dramatiker und
> stark. (p. 28)

The Poet rejects the offer of mere financial assistance, because he feels that he needs a theater more than anything else, and he cannot compromise with his ideal. This theater is to be a sort of holy temple for all kinds of people, but especially for the oppressed.

> Hören Sie doch: es wird
> Das Herz der Kunst: aus allen Ländern strömen
> Die Menschen alle an die heilende Stätte
> Zur Heiligung, nicht nur ein kleines Häuflein
> Erlesener! (p. 48)

The Poet wishes to reveal the corruption of the time and bring mankind to a realization of the divine nature of the world.

> Zur Hochgeburt soll eine hochgeborne
> Vielfach verderbte Zeit hin vor mich treten,
> Ja, diese Zeit soll wahrhaft sich im Spiegel

Der Allmacht schauen und verstummen, wenn
Aus tiefen Himmeln wächst
Das gnädige Bild des Ankers, der uns alle
Unerbittlich erzgeschwungen
Hält an dem Grund der Gottheit.
(p. 49)

The refusal of aid from the man of wealth does not make the Poet deviate from his purpose, rather he feels strengthened by the unkindness of fate.

Du warfst mir einen himmelhohen Fels
In meine Strasse -
Mit Felsen auch beschlugest du mein Hirn und,
Kaum kann ich denken.
Doch deine Widermacht schwellt meine Pulse,
Schicksal!
Einst trotze ich mich himmelauf in blaue Sonne ..,
Adler
Spreite ich Schwingen aus
Feuern der Sonne.
Kralle und Adler! und dein Block wird Staubkorn.
(p. 58)

While the Poet speaks these words, the Girl approaches, who follows him as if attracted by some mystic force. She has had an illegitimate child which has been taken from her and put in an orphanage.

The second and third act present a symbolic action, the dissolution of the bonds of family upon the poet. The father is insane, plays a toy drum and talks of the secrets he has learned at night about the construction of the canals on Mars. The mother also has some kind of illness.

With the insight he has had, the father wants to become a great engineer, to remake the earth for the happiness of man. He feels that this can be obtained almost by sheer force of will.

Ich habe die Allmacht! kann die grosse Erde
Zu Staub zerstossen!
(p. 89)

In his delirium he asks for poison from the son. An apparition confirms this command to the Poet, reminding him of the neglect of his divine mission in the midst of this worldly distress.

In des Tages
Grosser Qual und Not,
Bei der lichten
Schöpferspiele Tod.
Bei der dürren
Grauen Rinde Brot
Vergassest du des Werkes nicht?
(p. 95)

The Poet determines first to find out whether there is any soundness in the fantastic plans of his father. An unprejudiced observer declares them unsound, and the son prepares a poison in a wine, which is drunk by both mother and father, causing their death.

This action causes a tremendous amount of suffering in the Poet. His only consolation is the love of the Girl, who has given up her child to follow him. The apparition of a woman speaks to the Poet of the mystical symbolic meaning of the girl to him.

Oh du.
Sei dir ihres Kusses Hauchen,
Sei dir ihre fromme Umarmung
Heilig Symbol der mystischen Mächte:
Ihres heftigen Umfangens
Mystisch mütterlich Symbol.
(p. 98)

The fourth act shows the Poet again in despair because he cannot find any occupation in life; his mission finds no response in the world.

Ich bin so sehr allein
Und trage Licht und finde nicht die Nacht
Für dieses Licht und breche an mir selber ..!
(p. 140)

He calls to the world to prepare his way for him, for his purposes are divinely pure.

> Ich will die Welt auf meine Schultern nehmen
> Und sie mit Lobgesang zur Sonne tragen.
> (p. 141)

In order to find a sphere of usefulness, in which he can achieve some result, he seeks daily employment. In such occupation it becomes only clearer to him that his work, his mission, is not for the passing moment but for eternity.

> Vorher war es mir vermessen und schwächlich, den Tagesberuf zu fliehen, aber jetzt weiss ich, dass die Natur mir meine Tage nicht für die Tage gibt, sondern für mein Werk, das über Tagen lebt. Dies ist mein Gesetz. (p. 148)

The fifth act brings to the poet a clearer realization of the nature and limitations of his mission. The poet speaks with himself in a condition of pure ecstasy, analyzing to himself the causes of his suffering. The experience of his divine calling was like a stroke of lightning from above, which damns him at the same time as it blesses him.

> Oh Segen des Blitzes! Seligkeit der Lichtmächte! Oh zitterndes Glück der Nähe Gottes, ewiger Kummer seiner Nähe! Wie soll ich leben, da mich dies verdammt - (p. 152)

The curse of the poet is that he must attempt to express that which is ineffable. Words are empty and powerless, yet the poet is compelled by an unyielding force to make the attempt.

> Der Fluch ... Die Verdammung ... denn ich weiss - ach, ich weiss es so gewiss - diese Offenbarung wird mich nie verlassen, der Hunger nach aller Ewigkeit wird mich nie verlassen ... und doch werde ich die Feder greifen und doch Worte dichten. Ich weiss es ... ich fühle es, diese

> Macht lässt mich nicht, dieser Zwang zu den Symbolen. (p. 155)

The final enlightenment comes to him like an inspiration from heaven. If he must speak in symbols, then it must be with symbols of eternity.

> Wenn mich das Blut, die Summe der Unwirklichkeit, des Lärmens, des Lärmen Wollens in mir ... in meinem Blut, wenn dieses verdammt in Symbolen zu reden, so gilt es: DURCH SYMBOLE DER EWIGKEIT ZU REDEN. (p. 156)

The play closes with a refusal of the poet to alter or make any compromise in one of his dramas, for he is now certain of his goal and of the essence of his mission. With the love of the girl as his constant inspiration and guide he has the strength and courage to live for the future, and for his mission.

Der Bettler, then, gives us a picture of the essentially Expressionistic poet. He has a divine mission in the world, which descended upon him like a stroke of lightning from above. He follows out this mission uncompromisingly, undeterred by unkindness of fate and free from the bonds of family and from the material demands of the moment. He stands in the world alone, except for the girl who must be ready to sacrifice everything to follow him. This love is his strength, through its symbolic divine meaning.

His mode of experience is ecstatic and visionary. He receives commands directly from above. The world is seen in its relation to the eternal. He feels that he is bearing the world upon his shoulders upward to God.

Finally, the poet is tormented by the inadequacy of words to express the divine message which he has. This insoluble problem can only approach a solution, when language is itself changed so that it expresses the utmost of meaning. It must be transformed into divine and eternal symbols.

The spirit of this play and the pronouncements of the later theorist of the Expressionist movement, Edschmid, are in essential agreement, and no better example could be given of the ecstatic experience and religious tendencies of Expressionism.

V. ARTIST AND SOCIETY

In the preceding chapters the problem of the ideals and aims of the artists has been uppermost, especially as such ideals indicated how the particular artist represented the ideals of a literary movement. The relationship of the artist to society was there touched upon. Here, this relationship must be treated more fully, and certain artist dramas in which this problem seems to be the main theme, must be considered.

In general, we have found that one of the roles of the artist in Naturalistic drama has been that of a reformer with social ideals. In Neo-romanticism the artist feels that his only duty is to himself and to his art. In Expressionism the artist has a mission, is a seer or prophet.

Common to almost all of the artist figures we have studied, and expressed by most of them, is a profound contempt for the unfeeling, unsensitive, vulgar mob, who do not have any understanding for art and beauty. Even in Hofmannsthal's Der Tod des Tizian, where the world of the artist is safely removed from that of coarseness and ugliness, there is a strong outburst against the dull-witted animality of the outside world. (I, 68)

This contempt of the artist for the "Spiessbürger," the "Philistines," is probably most strongly expressed in Hauptmann's plays. This is true not only for the degenerate artists, who have an excess of self-esteem entirely unjustified by their performance, but it holds also for the stronger artists.

College Crampton finds the common horde very boring, but he drinks with them at the tavern. Peter Brauer expresses deep contempt for Carlowitz, the old second-hand merchant, calling him "Banause" (IV, 459). Arnold Kramer in the tavern calls the drinkers there "Nullen" (III, 48). Ottfried Mäurer and Lucie Heil feel themselves elevated far above the malicious gossip of the world about them.

Michael Kramer, when he learns the details about Arnold's quarrel with the drinkers in the tavern, expresses himself the most strongly of all.

> Was haben die Gecken von dem da gewusst: diese Stöcke und Klötze in Mannsgestalt!? Von dem und von mir und von unsren Schmerzen!? Sie haben ihn mir zu Tode gehetzt. (III, 78)

It is also significant that none of Hauptmann's artists are happily married. College Crampton complains that his wife uses so much money and considers marriage to be destructive of the artist (I, 406). Peter Brauer's wife and daughter treat him with the utmost cruelty, calling him an "unnützes Fettgewicht" (IV, 470). Lachmann, an artist in Michael Kramer, feels that marriage imprisons him as artist. Gabriel Schilling found marriage to Eveline humdrum and with a deadening effect on his inspiration (IV, 84). There is no real understanding between Michael Kramer and his wife. She threatens Arnold with the father's anger in order to try to get some control over the son.

Heinrich, in Die versunkene Glocke, feels that he has mistreated his wife grievously. He begs forgiveness, but an uncontrollable force from within makes him continue to hurt her. He says to her:

> Ich tat dir manches Schlimme
> mit Wort und Werk; ich kränkte deine Liebe
> zu vielen Malen: jetzt vergib mir, Magda!
> Ich wollt es nicht, doch musst ich's immer wieder.
> Ich weiss nicht, wer mich zwang, doch zwang mich was,
> dir weh zu tun, und mir, indem ich's tat.
> Vergib mir, Magda!
> (II, 297)

The fact that almost all of Hauptmann's artists are married adds an element of reality and strength to them. In contrast, very few of Schnitzler's artists are married. They have fled from obligations, and even if they have entered a marriage there is no assurance of its

endurance. Exceptions to this have already been indicated above.

The artist is most frequently very much alone in the world. Heinrich and Michael Kramer are alone because of the principles and ideals which they support. Schnitzler's artists are alone from inner weakness. Wedekind's artists are alone because they seek to be alone, because their ideals and mission put them in conflict with society. Sorge's Poet is alone except for the girl, in his divine mission.

Heinrich's ideal of a joyous paganistic religion is in conflict with that of his community. He therefore feels himself a stranger among men. Yet, he is too weak to separate and maintain himself against them. There remains only the deep tragic feeling of being alone in the world.

> Sieh: tief und ungeheuer dehnt der Raum
> und kühl zur Tiefe sich, wo Menschen wohnen.
> Ich bin ein Mensch. Kannst du dies fassen,
> Kind:
> fremd und daheim dort unten - so hier oben
> fremd und daheim .... kannst du das fassen?
> (II, 346)

Michael Kramer feels himself as a hermit in the world, devoting himself completely to the sanctuary of his art. He recognizes the importance of duties in ones personal life, for the sake of strength of character and for the sake of morality. However, when the church refuses a burial to his son, because he committed suicide, Kramer rises in strength above such narrowness - "Gott ist mir Alles. Der Pastor nichts." (III, 75)

Although, as we have already seen, this conflict with society in the realm of morality is not the only aspect of the artist's conflict with society, it is the theme of several artist-plays. It is important in the plays of Sudermann, in which it becomes a question of the artist's being a privileged person in society, with the prerogative of living as he pleases. Nietzschean ideas of the superman seem here to have had a great influence.

Willy Janikow, in Sodoms Ende (1890), once showed great promise as a painter, having created a prize-winning picture of the fall of Sodom, a picture which is replete with sensuality and color. In the midst of a dissolute social group of newly-rich in western Berlin, he has degenerated to such extent that he no longer can paint anything worth while, as a matter of fact, he has no desire to paint. The sponsorship of Adah Barczinowski, who is the center of this world of sensuality, dancing, drinking and love-making, has destroyed him.

And yet it is not a passive degeneration which we see in Willy. He is himself already the embodiment of such sensuality, as proven by the theme of his great picture, and he is not the passive figure of a Naturalistic drama, but an active person, who on the one hand feels helpless in the grip of a mysterious fear, and on the other hand can proceed to destroy that which is best in his environment, by seducing the pure and virtuous foster-sister with a boast that his position as artist allows him to do anything: "Warum nicht? Ich kann alles, ich darf alles, denn es kleidet mich!" (IV, 206)[1]

Willy fortifies himself in this feeling of privilege by claiming for the artist the right to descend into the world of sin and immorality for the sake of new experience.

> Hast du je den geweihten Trotz in dir gefühlt gegen das, was die stumpfe Masse für recht und sittlich und verehrungswürdig hält? Hast du je riskiert, dir in der Wildnis des Lasters neue Reiche der Erkenntnis zu erobern? (IV, 183)

Magda Schwarze, in Heimat (1893), asserts her prerogative in society as a great singer, devoted to her art above everything else. Her career as singer has been the means of liberating herself from the restraints of bourgeois society and especially from a tyrannical father, who embodies the extreme puritanical attitude of this society.

1. Reference to Sudermann's plays are to Dramatische Werke (Stuttgart und Berlin, 1923).

Out of a desire to feel the enthusiasm and flush of conquest (IV, 306), she has become an artist, and she moves about in society with just such an attitude. She insults lady visitors in her mother's home because she finds them boring. She has had an illegitimate child, of which fact she is not ashamed; she rather glories in it, because sin is of especial value to the artist, making her greater if she rises above it.

> Schuldig müssen wir werden, wenn wir wachsen wollen. Grösser werden als unsre Sünde, das ist mehr wert als die Reinheit, die ihr predigt. (IV, 307)

The Painter, in Das Ewig-Männliche (1896), asserts his dignity as a man and artist before a dallying queen. He disdains to kiss her hand in the manner of an insipid shepherd, but wants the mouth, to teach her the real meaning of passion. Art has its roots in passionate love and longing.

> Ein jeder Lichtstrahl ist ein Strahl der Liebe,
> Und wenn sein Bildner sich vor ihr verschliesst,
> Ich möchte wissen, was dann übrig bliebe
> Von dieser armen Kunst, die aus dem Bronnen
> Der Sehnsucht ihre hehrste Kraft gewonnen.
> (III, 362)

The Painter claims superiority over the marshal, for art lends immortality to deeds.

> Nicht Eure Tat hat Leben,
> Das legt sich bald nach Euch ins Grab hinein,
> Das Bild der Tat, wie wir's der Nachwelt geben
> In Lied und Form, in Pergament und Stein
> Das ist's, was der Unsterblichkeit gehört,
> Worin man einst euch lieben wird und hassen.
> (III, 380)

The revelling of Sudermann's artists in the active, passionate experience of life is surpassed by the ecstatic glorification of passion by Hugo Haisst, in Hermann Bahr's Der arme Narr (1906).

Kaiserlicher Rat Vinzenz Haisst, a wealthy merchant has lived a life of circumspection and dignity. He considers human nature evil, and that one must attempt to starve the Evil. He has insisted upon law and morality, and thinks that he has chosen the better course. However, in order to convince himself again before he has to die he sends for the brother Hugo, who has been a musician, but who is now insane. Vinzenz calls him the "poor fool." He really envies him, however, for the popularity which he once enjoyed and the pleasures which he must have experienced, only too deeply.

Hugo finds himself again for a short time and he asserts the superiority of his manner of living. Against the ideal of humility of his brother, he glories in having drunk deeply and profoundly of all experience.

> Hochgemut auf das Leben los und hinein, dass es spritzt, und sinke nur, versinke, ertrinke - unten ist der liebe Gott, auf dem Meeresgrunde, des Lebens tief verborgenen Gottesgrund. Da hab ich für die Menschen dann das Leuchten heraufgeholt. (pp. 85-86)

For him life is "Brennen, Verbrennen" (p. 88). From this intoxication of living he has brought something beautiful into the world. His has been the real life; that of Vinzenz has been only an illusion. And Hugo calls Vinzenz "poor fool."

Art, the world of illusion, is here exalted as the only reality, everything else becomes illusion. The sister Sophie says of music: "was da klingt, ist das Wahre, alles andere scheint bloss." (p. 55)

This confusion of illusion and reality not only reminds us of some similar effects in Schnitzler, but the glorification of art in these terms is Neo-romantic; to be sure, in the passionate ecstasy of the baroque.

The conflict between the artist and society becomes the more specific question of the right of the artist to disregard the law of the state in Tim Klein's Veit Stoss (1912) and Georg Kaiser's Noli me tangere (1922).

In order to save for himself the order of the dying mayor Tucher for a memorial work of art to be hung in the Lorenzkirche in Nürenberg, Veit Stoss changes the document, and proceeds to the execution of the "Englischer Gruss." The forgery is discovered and Stoss is brought before the court. There he defends himself on the grounds that the great work of art which he felt impelled to create excused any infraction of the law. He did not do it for money or for the approval of the people. The work within him commanded: "Das Werk zu wirken bist du da! so schrie's in mir." (p. 95)

Veit Stoss is branded and exposed upon the public market place. After the suicide of his deeply loved daughter, he realizes the wrongness of his position and kills himself.

> Ich bin verloren, weil ich mit der einen Hand
> in den Himmel griff, die Kunst herunterzuholen,
> und sie mit der andern auf Erden erwürgte.
> (p. 119)

Albrecht Dürer appears as a contrasting figure to Veit Stoss and attempts to console him and mediate between him and the aroused people. Dürer knows the importance of recognizing obligations to society, and his calmness of spirit stands forth against the impetuosity of Stoss. The creative spirit works harmoniously in him.

> Der Geist wirket von innen nach aussen - und ein
> grosser Sinn kann nicht verborgen bleiben, er
> dringet heraus und macht die innere Offenbarung
> in Gestalten sichtbar und schön. (p. 46)

Kaiser's Noli me tangere (1922) represents an extreme in its claim of privilege for the artist that is hard to conceive. In the play no characters are named, but are designated by numbers from one to sixteen. The scene is in a prison room, and the men are prisoners except for a few guards.

Number fifteen is finally revealed as a poet who is in prison for some unnamed crime. Whatever the crime is, it is no justification for the emprisonment of the

poet, for the poet represents the future and is exempt from any restrictions of this world.

> Ich bin grosse Stimme, die aushallt in Zeit, die weit dämmert - und Morgen in Zukunft rot macht! (p. 66)

The poet is supported in this contention by no less an advocate than Jesus Christ himself, who appears as number sixteen. The poet is persecuted because he is so far ahead of society.

> Du läufst weg - und entfernst das Ziel und steckst es so weit, dass es unerreichbar erscheint - und ohne Zweck die Verfolgung. (p. 66)

This support in words is substantiated by Christ's actions. He has a ticket which gives him freedom. This ticket he turns over to the poet. The exchange is betrayed by a snooping prisoner (Judas), and Christ is crucified again.

This play by Kaiser is interesting in connection with the well-known prosecution of Georg Kaiser in 1922 for an embezzlement of money. Kaiser denied none of the charges but rather claimed the right to exemption from punishment by law because of the high rank of poet which he occupied.[2]

The relationship between the artist and society is treated somewhat differently in a few other plays. Instead of the artist's demanding complete freedom to do as he wishes, he sometimes really seeks to find his proper position in society. Then again, the poet may be on the defensive, against critics and censorship.

Halbe's Walpurgistag (1903) revolves about the problem of the artist's responsibility to the people. Ansgar, the poet, confesses to the people assembled to see him crowned poet-king on Walpurgistag that he composed the winning poem not out of any regard for the

2. See Bab, Die Chronik des deutschen Dramas (Berlin, 1921, 1926), V, 127.

people, but out of love for a beautiful girl. The people are incensed and the poet is banished from the country. Ansgar has come to the realization that he must follow his inward impulse if he is to be a great poet and not depend upon pleasing the people.

> Mir selbst musst' ich Genüge thun! Meines Wesens eingeborenes Gesetz musst' ich erfüllen! (p. 167)

Horn's Shakespeares Wandlung (1906) shows the poet attacked by a particular group of people, the Puritans, who consider the theater an institution of iniquity. Shakespeare experiences great disappointment in his love and in a friend. He is deeply grieved by the attack of the Puritans, whom he would like to understand.

> die lehrten mich, wie schwach mein Wesen in der Welt; und was ich liebte, konnt' ich mir mit Liebe nicht erhalten! (p. 79)

This feeling can not be overcome, and he who had been in the midst of all the activity and intrigue of the court gives it all up in order to be merely an observer of the world and nature.

> Aufs Land will ich - nach Stratfords Heimatfluren - den Abend will ich sinken sehen und den Morgen kommen, die Arme breiten aus und lauschend hören, wie die Natur in tiefen Zügen atmet, bis sich in ihrem Takt mein Busen hebt (p. 91)

Gumppenberg's Der Pinsel Yings (1914) is a satire on the public and the critics who accept anything, no matter how nonsensical, from a poet who has just one time under unusual circumstances composed a really great poem.

In Holz's Die Sozialaristokraten (1896) and Wedekind's Oaha (1908), censorship is considered good advertisement. It brings success to a journal in the first play and to a Witzblatt in the second. The editorial

staff of the latter includes a "Sitzredakteur" whose duty it is to take all the jail punishments.

In this chapter we have attempted to indicate the position the artist occupies in society and the social conflicts which are reflected in the artist dramas. In Hauptmann we find a strong idealism and a strong consciousness of the importance of the artist. The artist stands alone, but he feels a strong attachment and obligation to society.

The conflict between the artist and society becomes more a matter of an assumption of unquestioned privilege in the minds of Sudermann's artists. This usually means the exaltation of passion and immorality as having particular value to the artist.

Veit Stoss recognizes the falseness of his claim to exemption from the law of the state. Kaiser's poet claims the right to disregard it completely.

We have artists who exalt themselves arrogantly above other people, and we have those who seek to find their rightful place in the world, with a real desire to serve as they are able.

VI. BOHÈME

The concept of Bohemianism is derived from the roving habits of the gypsies, who really came from northern India, but who have long been regarded as coming from Bohemia. In literature it has come to describe the mode of life of homeless, roving artists, who have nowhere a real home, but find themselves most often in bare attic studios and in cheap cafes.

The tradition of the Boheme in literature seems to go back to the sketches, Scènes de la vie Bohème (1848) of Henri Murger (1822-1861), who was a French man of letters, born in Paris of a German father, and who later was secretary to Count Alexei Tolstoi. He belonged for a while to a group in Paris who called themselves Bohemians, and his scenes describe the kind of life they led. This life was one of care-free poverty, romantic love, amusement and suffering in attic rooms and low-class cafes in the Latin Quarter.

Murger's sketches were arranged for the stage and produced at the Variétés in Paris in 1849, with much success. They later formed the basis of Puccini's opera La Bohème, which was first produced at Turino in 1896, and in Germany in 1899 in Breslau.

The Bohemian life of artists in the Montmartre of Paris has become well-known in the world. Such a life was consciously sought by the new generation of French artists who came upon the literary scene in the eighties, and met in their own cabarets. The "Chat Noir," founded in 1881, and "Le Mirliton" were two of the most lively in those years. Poets, painters and musicians met and satirized the "philistines" and shocked the public with daring obscenities.

Similar Bohemian groups developed quite naturally in Germany, in Berlin, Vienna and Munich. In Berlin especially, around the Hart brothers, there gathered roving artists, who were revolutionary, abnormal and care-free. The two brothers themselves were finding life difficult, and often there was only bread and a

little cheese, which they gladly shared with their visitors. Heinrich Hart compares this life later to Murger's scenes.[1] He describes it thus:

> Unsre beiden Zimmer, in denen wir im Norden Berlins ganz à la bohémienne hausten, waren oft überfüllt mit jungen Revolutionären, die in Worten jeden Augenblick eine Welt vernichteten und eine neue in Reden schufen. Auch Hermann Conradi und Karl Henckell stellten sich in Berlin ein. Fast jeden Abend traf man sich bei uns oder in irgend einer Winkelkneipe. Nur das Abnorme, das Abnormste hatte Aussicht auf allgemeinen Beifall. Wer sich am tollsten gebärdete, galt für das überragendste Genie. Mehrfach stritten die Leutchen darum, wer für den verrücktesten zu gelten habe; es galt für eine besondere Ehre, Irrsinnsanwandlungen zu haben. Trumpf war es, wenn einer nachweisen konnte, dass er bereits einmal, vielleicht mehrmals einige Zeit in einer Nervenheilanstalt oder gar in einer Irrenanstalt zugebracht hatte. Mein Bruder und ich machten da natürlich nicht mit, konnten es auch nicht, aber wir horchten stillvergnügt. (III, 51)

In this description, the emphasis on the consciously sought for appearance of abnormality among these Bohemians shows us in what world they belong, that of decadence. Sydow[2] defines the Boheme as social nihilism, consisting of cafe-life, roving existence, lack of profession, irregular love, poverty and internationalism. It is a form of decadence and belongs to the world of Romanticism.

The first drama of the Boheme in Germany is Adolf Wilbrandt's Die Maler (1872). Oswald, Werner, Simson, Mockert and Werner's sister, Else, are painters who gather together in Oswald's atelier for their festivities and masquerades. They never have any money, but they live happily and cheerfully. None of them are

1. Hart, Ges. Werke, III, 52-53.
2. Die Kultur der Dekadenz (Leipzig, 1922), p. 167ff.

married, because they do not have enough money for that. They express only contempt and derision for the court official who comes to attach their property for unpaid debts. They extricate themselves from their difficulty by duping the banker Sandberg, ignorant in matters of art, into buying a painting, thus receiving enough money to pay the debt.

The Berlin Boheme as it existed around the Hart brothers is portrayed in Ernst von Wolzogen's Das Lumpengesindel (1892). Wolzogen did not know this group except by hearsay, and the plot is invented.[3] This play is a tribute to the two brothers, to their uncompromising idealism, their kindness, and their lack of prejudice.

In the play Friedrich Kern is married to Else, but they do not have a real mutual understanding between them because Friedrich's brother is living with them and is usually present. Another great obstacle is the swarm of artists and literati who come in upon them at all times of the day or night, often depriving them of their own bed.

Friedrich and his brother have an honest and unbending idealism. They refuse with indignation to accept employment on the newspaper of the Commerzienrath Dessoir, because he would require them to forego their own convictions. That Friedrich is also unprejudiced is proven by the fact that he is willing to forgive his wife when he finds out about a love affair of hers which had taken place before he met her.

The group of artists which assembles in the Kern home are quite care-free, although they very seldom have any money. They enjoy life and take nothing seriously. Gayety reigns at their celebrations until late into the night.

Die Lumpen (1899) by Leo Hirschfeld (pseudonym for Leo Feld) is based upon the Vienna Boheme and is a romantic glorification of decadence.

A cafe is the meeting place of a care-free artist group, who love to talk, to borrow money, to eat and

3. Hart, Ges. Werke, III, 53.

drink when they can afford it and above all to discuss their various plans for novels and plays which never seem to be finished. They cultivate an ideal of aestheticism which is in opposition to the new (Naturalistic?) art devoted to truth and interpretation of life.

> Lassen S'mich aus mit den grossen Worten von der "neuen Kunst," und "Wahrheit" und der "Deutung des Lebens", etc. --- das sind lauter sehr schöne Posen --- ein bisserl alt schon heut' --- (p. 7.)

The direction of this art is inward, and the outward freedom of their mode of living is necessary to the creation of genuine art.

> das macht den Künstler - der Reichtum der innern Existenz und die freie Kraft, das hinauszustellen - (p. 9)

They hold in contempt those artists who have commercialized their art, making of it a mere commodity of luxury or a source of amusement and entertainment. For them art is the only thing which makes life worth living.

> wenn die Kunst ein Luxus ist, dann ist sie der, der das Leben erst lebenswerth macht (p. 60)

Nothing is more distasteful to this group than the idea that art is for all people. They fight the organization of "Polyhymnia" to which those artists who cater to popular tastes become eligible for membership. Their art is aristocratic and decadent.

> und sind wir denn nicht alle entthronte Könige, wir Menschen von heute, aus Leben und Thaten gerissen, mit der grossen Sehnsucht nach dem wirksamen lebendigen Leben, von dem uns todte Blätter berichten! (p. 121)

In contrast to some of Schnitzler's figures, however, they are not afflicted by melancholy (p. 72). On the contrary they lead a fast, care-free existence, drinking and making love with light heart.

> Uns holt nix ein - keine Faderie und keine Sorgen - nicht einmal 's Geld! Prosit - es lebe die Geschwindigkeit - denn alles Grosse ist das Rasche, das Brausende, das Flügelstarke! Prosit Kinder, es lebe Alles, was nicht auf mühsamen Spiesserbeinen durch's Leben humpelt - prosit! (p. 111)

The plot of the play concerns the desertion of the Bohemian and decadent ranks by Heinrich Ritter, a dramatic poet. He falls victim to his innate desire to "rule" as an artist and his jealousy of another author who has known how to procure a quick success with less talent. His friends try to save him from this danger and greet his success in the "Polyhymnia" with ironic laughter.

The Boheme is here identified with decadence. It is as a form of decadence that it is attacked and satirized in other plays of the time.[4]

Max Halbe, whose beginnings in drama belong to the Naturalistic movement, gives a more or less objective picture of the Boheme in Die Heimathlosen (1899) and satirizes it most vigorously in Die Insel der Seligen (1906).

The scenes of the former of these plays are a Berlin rooming house, in private rooms and at a kind of artists' ball. In this circle are artists, poets, actresses and musicians, who have left their homes elsewhere in order to escape from the atmosphere of low bourgeois. Regine Frank, pianist, calls them "modern gypsies of the metropolis" (p. 20).

The home which they seek in the world of the spirit lies too far in the future for them to attain (p. 24), so they are homeless.

Figuring mainly in the play are unattached women who have come to Berlin to become actresses or musicians,

4. The modern decadent cafe-literati are satirized in a famous drawing by Th. Th. Heine in the Simplizissimus. See Soergel, Dichtung und Dichter, p. 437.

or to write novels. In this unstable and frivolous society a young girl, Lotte Burwig from Danzig, falls victim to the seduction of a kind of Nietzschean superman, who abandons her after the winter season is over.

In contrast to this society is the young student, Theodor Weber, who dreams of real freedom in the task of carrying social ideals to the natives of Africa.

The second Halbe play portrays the Boheme only in a transferred sense, for the scene is a rather fantastic artist colony on an island, founded by Wiegand, a man of varied abilities and among other things a poet, with the purpose of restoring these people to normality through the contact with nature. This purpose is not realized, there is rebellion and agitation to found a communistic government.

The personnel of this venture are "decadents" who seek new formulas and new sensations. Ecstatic orgies are for them the essential source of the new art.

> Zur Ekstase heisst es sich hinaufsteigern! Nur aus Taumel und Verachtung erblüht die gelbe Blume der Dekadenz! (p. 47)

The poet, Lanzinger, is the principal exponent of decadence. Finsterlin, painter and engraver, is interested in masochism. Moritura, poetess, leaves her children in an orphanage in order to devote all her time to her poetry. Marenholdt, an outsider, speaks of the islanders thus:

> Es sind Gehirne! Es sind Denkwerkzeuge! Muskelapparate! Kaumaschinen! Geschlechtsfunktionen! Alles Mögliche! Aber es sind keine Menschen! (p. 60)

The satirical attack on decadence by this play is alleviated to some extent by the declaration of Rehbein that this was a dream which one must have dreamed in order to leave it behind (p. 99).

Otto Ernst of Hamburg satirizes the younger

generation of artists and the Boheme in two plays, Jugend von heute (1900) and Die Liebe höret nimmer auf (1911). His attack lacks all refinement and sense of humor, and the figures are mostly caricatures.

The former is directed against the unbounded egotism of modern apes of Nietzschean supermen, who wish to be "Herrenmenschen" of brutal instincts, free of all bonds and with a decadent preference for the morbid and chaotic. Clara, a clever and sensible girl, who rescues the man she loves from this environment, calls them "feinfühlig bis zur Roheit" (p. 42).

Their favorite abode is a sailor's tavern. Among them, Egon Wolf writes incomprehensible free verse, Meissner composes music which is loud and full of dissonance and Theo Norman acts in Ibsen plays and expresses contempt for Shakespeare. They speak also contemptuously of Goethe, Schiller, Beethoven and Mendelssohn. Among the words which they detest are: Gemütlichkeit, Ziel, Fortschritt, Vernunft, Wahrheit, Sittlichkeit, Wissenschaft, Logik, Menschheit, Wohl der Gemeinschaft, Gewissen, Treue, Pflicht, Forschbegierde and Ruhmbegierde.

Clara succeeds in saving Hermann from the ideas of this group by pretending to support them herself. After the friends have left from their visit in Hermann's home, Erich returns to admit that Hermann has been the real "Herrenmensch."

The second play by Ernst has a cafe scene again. The members of this Boheme group are mainly musicians, and they talk much about Wagner, Apollinian and Dionysian music. One of them, Bruno Sommerkamp, known as "der feucht-fröhliche Bruno," marries Ruth von Borgen on a basis of complete truthfulness and freedom - which reminds us of Amadeus in Zwischenspiel. He, however, is by no means truthful, for he has a child already of whom he says nothing to Ruth. Later he even suggests bringing the mother of the child into their home.

Bruno speaks of his nerves in a manner common to decadents: "Alle Künstler sind Neurastheniker, und die Musiker doppelt." (p. 64)

After suffering a heart attack, Bruno repents

of the worthlessness of his Bohemian existence and speaks in melodramatic self-condemnation to Dr. Siebelius.

> Du sollst zu mir sagen: Meister Bruno, "genialer Bohémien," der Erzphilister bist du. Dein Leben war Stillstand, das meine war rastlose Bewegung, - Ihr fresst und sauft aus dem Füllhorn der Welt und wollt nichts dafür wiedergeben. Zechpreller seid ihr. Dein erstes Wort, mein lieber Bruno, war "Wahrheit" und dein Leben war Lüge auf Schritt und Tritt; dein zweites Wort war "Schönheit" - und dein Leben war eine einzige Disharmonie; dein drittes Wort war "lustig sein," und du schriest es laut hinaus, um deinen unergründlichen Seelenjammer zu verbergen. Der edle Räuber und der grossmütige Löwe und die hochherzige Kameliendame - sie alle sind viel wahrer und glaubhafter als der lustige Bohémien, der feuchtfröhliche Bruno. (p. 115)

He now also knows the truth about the love for the morbid and ridicule of the healthy.

> Deshalb verspotteten wir ja die Gesundheit, weil wir glaubten, dass Krankheit wissend mache. Sie macht auch wissend; aber es ist ein etwas kleines Wissen. (p. 122)

This same bitterness of attack upon the Boheme is not found again, but in a play such as Zech's Das trunkene Schiff (1924) the Boheme is rejected. In this case it is the Paris Boheme around Paul Verlaine which fails to hold Arthur Rimbaud, who desires nature and adventure.

Wilbrandt's Die Maler seems to be in the literary tradition of Murger's Bohemian sketches. Wolzogen's play is based on the scenes in the home of the Hart brothers, and the Boheme is not described for its own sake. Leo Hirschfeld's Die Lumpen is the one portrayal of the Boheme for its own sake, and it is perfectly natural that it should be found in the tradition of decadence as it came into Germany under the strong influence of Verlaine and Baudelaire. That Halbe from the standpoint of Naturalism and Otto Ernst from narrowness of his view point should have attacked Boheme and decadence is easily understandable. Zech's play from the viewpoint of Expressionism or activism rejects the Boheme.

VII. THE ACTOR

The end of the nineteenth century was a time of great actors. Eleonora Duse entranced her audiences with her performances of Hedda Gabler.[1] Sarah Bernhardt, Monnet-Sully and Coquelin reigned supreme in France. Josef Kainz played Mark Anthony, Richard II, Hamlet and Mephistopheles, and was recognized as one of the very greatest actors of Germany. Bassermann was noted for his playing of Ibsen and Schnitzler and Sorma for her performances in Hofmannsthal's plays. Else Lehmann played in Schnitzler roles, Strindberg and Wedekind. The last named played in his own productions.

It has been seen in the discussion of Schnitzler how the actor furnishes an extreme example of the problematic nature of the artist. With him life becomes dissolved into the illusion of his world of forms, and he becomes as a child.

Vienna was a city of active theater life, and the whole atmosphere of actors and singers fitted into the light and frivolous, if decadent, background. Hofmannsthal writes several poems in honor of actors who had passed away.

He calls the actor Mitterwurzer a great magician who could conjure forth all things from his magic cloak, who possessed power to present all things in their true essence:

> Er war ein wilder König. Um die Hüften
> Trug er wie bunte Muscheln aufgereiht
> Die Wahrheit und die Lüge von uns allen.
> (I, 48)[2]

In Hermann Müller Hofmannsthal saw the tragedy of the actor who found reality itself to be a frightful stage, where the innocent, childish artist was betrayed by fate:

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1. See Alfred Kerr, Die Welt im Drama (Berlin, 1917), V, 267ff.
2. The references are to Hofmannsthal, Gesammelte Werke.

Da war er in ein unerbittlich Spiel
Verstrickt, unwissend, wie ihm dies geschah;
Ein jeder Schritt ein tiefrer als der frühere
Und unerbittlich jedes stumme Zeichen:
Das Angesicht der Nacht war mit im Bund,
Der Wind im Bund, der sanfte Frühlingswind,
Und alle gegen ihn! Nicht den gemeinen,
Den zarten Seelen stellt das dunkle Schicksal
Fallstricke dieser Art. (I, 51)

Josef Kainz is described as having a mysterious power through a wonderful voice and personality. He was also a bringer of light into the world, lonely in his mission:

Ein Unverwandelter in viel Verwandlungen,
Ein niebezauberter Bezauberer,
Ein Ungerührter, der uns rührte, einer,
Der fern war, da wir meinten, er sei nah,
Ein Fremdling über allen Fremdlingen,
Einsamer über allen Einsamen.
Der Bote aller Boten, namenlos
Und Bote eines namenlosen Herrn.
(I, 52)

The significance of the theater for Neo-romanticism is also seen in the words of Hofmannsthal's prologue to Schnitzler's Anatol.

Eine Laube statt der Bühne,
Sommersonne statt der Lampen,
Also spielen wir Theater,
Spielen unsre eignen Stücke,
Frühgereift und zart und traurig,
Die Komödie unsrer Seele,
Unsres Fühlens Heut und Gestern,
Böser Dinge hübsche Formel,
Glatte Worte, bunte Bilder,
Halbes, heimliches Empfinden,
Agonien, Episoden ... (I, 45)

The actor is a popular figure in the world of decadence, in the Boheme and in Neo-romanticism.

Hermann Bahr, under the strong influence of French decadence and an advocate of its "satanic" forms, uses an actress as chief character in a play which epitomizes the decadence as it appears in German drama. He says just a year or two later that his main purpose in the play was to "épater les bourgeois" (Bahr, St. p. 95). The play is Die Mutter (1891), and the spirit of decadence pervades it, even the settings.

The mother is a sixty-year old actress who shows her decadent, wierd and super-refined tastes in the way she has her room arranged, in her dress and in her actions. The room has gothic windows and church furniture, a harmonium, a harp, modern bric-a-brac, rococo tables, Japanese screens, Gobelins depicting erotic love scenes, a baroque pianino and heavy carpets - a picture of confusion and evidence of the taste for unusual things and unusual combinations.

The mother herself has restless eyes which show first fatigued boredom and then feverish excitement, red hair of a peculiar shade and a look which betrays both disappointment and cynical cruelty. She moves with nervous haste and reaches often for one of the many perfume bottles she keeps scattered about the room, inhaling long and sensuously. She wears a purple costume for the play and covers herself with much jewelry and wears a satin coat. This love for perfumes, colors and jewelry is common in the decadent search for unusual sensations.

The mother's role at the theater is that of Fredegonda, the Franconian queen (died 597) who became the wife of Chilperich I, after she had murdered his previous wife, who had the husband's brother and stepson put to death and who after a time of banishment returned to power and turned against the surviving enemies. A more amoral character could hardly have been alluded to by an author, and this fact has its special significance for this play of decadence.

It is interesting to see what part the mere senses of color-sight and touch and smell play in the play. The son dresses in a violet frock coat with knee pants to go to Terka, and wears red and black pajamas at home in bed. The letters from the mother to Terka are

of many colors, especially pink, and are perfumed. The sense of smell is highly developed in both mother and son. It is especially to caresses that he responds with full sensual enjoyment. He compares them to things, materials and colors, just as the decadents of France assigned colors to vowel-sounds. For instance, Terka's caresses are to Edi like yellow Chinese silk (p. 30) and those of his mother are satiny like apricots (p. 49).

The decadent love of the abnormal and perverse is here fully portrayed. The mother has murdered her husband because she loved him too much, for love devours the man (62). She has had a Lesbian love affair with Terka, a prostitute, to whom she has written passionate letters. She has a kind of fixation on her son, whom she loves passionately, caressing him wildly. She has given him everything he wanted, helping him to seduce her beautiful women friends. She wishes to save him from Terka, whom he loves as pure flesh and strong sensuality, because she feels that it will kill him. The mother comes to Terka's from the theater and gets Edi to come home with her only after she has struck Terka down with a chair. The son cries out still for Terka, for she is the only woman in the world who knows how to kiss. The mother throws herself upon him and kisses him wildly and suffocatingly in order to show him that she too can kiss. In the excitement of finding that the mother had murdered his father, the son falls against the picture frame and is killed. The mother breaks out into insanity.

The mother's every action and speech is theatrical, forced and unnatural. Only in two scenes does she seem more natural; in one she becomes coarse and rough in her fight with Terka, in the other she confesses to her son the true story of the death of her husband. Her love for her son is no doubt genuine but its manifestations are mostly theatrical. In a sense, her fight for her son is a struggle against the unnaturalness and theatricality of her whole former life, which now crushes her with tragedy and insanity.

The Clown, a minor character in the play, illustrates the extreme to which an actor can develop. His

every movement, however well intentioned, is unnatural and clownish. He speaks with great earnestness of his performing pigs, who have replaced his former white mice, because they are so much more intelligent and elegant.

In this play by Bahr, which is mainly significant because of its relation to the movement of decadence, there is indicated the principal problem of the actor as artist, that is, the dominance of the world of illusion over the world of reality and the consequent problematic nature of the artist's experience. This problem belongs to the realm of impressionistic Romanticism, in which there is the division between the two worlds and the deliverance of the artist to mere sensations of the moment.

Lion Feuchtwanger's Der Fetisch (1907) presents a Bohemian group of actors and writers. They are incapable of living normal, healthy lives and of feeling any love other than an "ästhetisierende Liebe" (p. 151). Real life has passed them by because they have sacrificed everything to art.

Arthur Friedländer, a theatrical director, was once in love with Maja Bolk, but married another so that he might rise to a position of power in the world of art. He repents of having given up love for a fetish, but when he sends for her, he finds that she has just been killed in an accident on Mont-Blanc. There remains the tragic feeling of having sacrificed to art in vain, but this fetish continues to demand obedient service.

> wen er einmal gepackt hat, den lässt er nicht mehr locker sein Leben lang. Opfern wir ihm weiter! (p. 175)

Maja Bolk, on the other hand, has become a great actress because she was able to overcome her great disappointment in love and to devote herself to her art completely.

Heinrich Mann's Schauspielerin (1911) treats the problem of the gulf between actors and normal everyday people. Leonie Hallmann, an actress, wants to retire from the stage and marry a man from the business world. She has had enough of the illusory existence of the

theater, and longs for bourgeois peace, warmth and security.

> Wenn ich's aber satt habe, zum Sterben satt. Das Ganze. Die Gefühle, die man nur hat, um damit zu spielen. Nicht zu leben, nur zu spielen. Die Leidenschaften, von denen man im vorhinein weiss, dass sie nur so lange dauern, bis man was daraus gemacht hat. (p. 26)

She longs for normality, for a life that is natural and unproblematic.

> Ich will leben: lieben wie die andern, ohne Probleme, ohne Wissen und Hass in der Begierde. (p. 87)

This attempt fails because she remains an actress in every reaction and feeling. She has been in love with a Dr. Fork, who does not want to give her up. She is still a slave to the passing moment, and the wooing of Dr. Fork sweeps her along in a passion which she would like to call an illusion, but it is only too real at the time. Her fiance abandons her, and she takes poison, proving to herself that this love was genuine reality, but with a theatricality which reveals her tragic position.

> Bei verriegelter Tür hat sie sich zum Sterben hingelegt und nicht daran gedacht, dass wir fühlende Menschen sind. Sie hat gespielt. Sie hat sich ihren Tod gespielt. Ich beneide sie. (p. 145)

Illusion and reality are confused in a tragic situation in Kaiser's Der Protagonist (1920). The background is a Duke's palace in England at the time of Shakespeare. The question of the general disapproval of actors is touched upon, but the actor himself is proud of his art which is aristocratic and intended only for the nobility.

The actor is so completely delivered up to the

illusion of his role that he feels that he has been betrayed of reality and himself.

> Spiele ich, bin ich an meine Rolle ausgeliefert
> wie der Blinde an den Abgrund. (p. 9)

Only the actor's sister is not part of this illusion. He demands complete truthfulness from her. She conceals from him that she is in love, and when she comes to tell him while he is in the midst of one of his tragic roles, he kills her. There is nothing left to him now but madness, there remaining no distinction between the real and unreal.

> Geht - und richtet eurem Herrn aus, dass er mich
> bis zum Abend der Verfolgung entzieht: er würde
> mich um meine beste Rolle bringen, die die
> Unterscheidung zwischen gespieltem und echtem
> Wahnsinn nicht mehr zulässt. (p. 32)

Edschmid's Kean (1921) presents the famous actor as one who suffers infinitely from the feeling that his whole existence is only a shadow and a lie.

> Es bleibt die Übelkeit, in Wahrheit nichts gelebt
> zu haben und sich und anderen für Stunden ein
> Betrug gewesen zu sein. (p. 30)

Kean is a man of elementary passions who knows life in all its social levels, from the apache tavern to court society. He is saved from a scandalous situation through the love of a simple bourgeois girl, after having broken out in madness during a scene of "Romeo and Juliet" on the stage. He is an actor because he feels inwardly compelled to that profession and he loves it. His art is aristocratic and not for the masses.

Der Komödiant (1924) by Karl Schönherr presents in contrast two actors. Stella Hochwart (formerly Lohnstetter) has followed the advice of Adalbert Ritter (at that time Mahlknecht), who told her while they were still studying together at the Academy that one must be able to reject ruthlessly any hindering human feeling, in order to become a great actor. This she has been able

to do, for she has left the child which she had by Ritter in a foundling home, and she has felt no maternal emotion on seeing him again. Real love is impossible for her now, but the longing for love makes her great as an artist.

Adalbert Ritter has not been able to follow his own advice and has remained a mediocre actor. He has kept and nourished a secret desire for bourgeois comfort and happiness. Such a dream seems possible of fulfillment through the marriage with Paula, a healthy girl of the middle class. She, however, insists upon realities. He should take back his old name and give up the theater. She is indignant to find that he studies his roles upon her, practicing his stage love-scenes with her. He does retire from the stage after a disastrous failure, but he continues to live as "Komödiant," acting out his life to himself and for others. He looks forward to the baby, so that he can have photographs made to show how happy he is.

Stella's visit to the city and her enormous success as guest actress arouses Adalbert again. He wants to make the child a great actor. Paula rebels at the idea and has an abortion performed. Adalbert makes the fact known immediately and Paula is arrested. He appears in court.

Whereas upon the stage Adalbert has been a failure, before the court he plays the most successful scene of his career. The public is enthusiastic and he receives countless flowers at his home afterwards. He is immediately engaged to play Hamlet that evening before a full house.

Before the court he has induced many tears for the sorrow caused him by the thwarted dream of having a son of his own. At home, the gardner helper comes with flowers, and Adalbert discovers that it is his own son who is about to go away into the world. For a moment Adalbert wavers between the desire to seize upon this reality and the fear to do so, but then he gives him money to go away. Now he can live with the mission of finding his lost son.

With his wife, too, he continues playing the "Komödiant." He changes the note on one of the many baskets of flowers sent to him out of sympathy for his suffering and in appreciation, as it were, of his great acting in the courtroom, so that it is addressed to Paula. When she discovers the trick, she leaves him in disappointment, and he departs in confidence for the theater.

If in these plays the actor appears as a very problematic figure, in others he is idealized as a ruler in the realm of art or as a bringer of beauty into the world.

Alois Wohlmuth's Der Komödiant (1897) is a weak romanticization of the actor, in a Zauberstück. Wohlmuth was himself an actor on the Munich Court stage.

Eulenberg's Künstler und Katilinarier (1902) shows the actor in conflict with society, but confident and proud in his profession. Dietrich Marlow leads a troupe of actors. When they play in his native town the old conflict with his father is again brought before him. The father denies him the use of his name because he considers acting a dishonorable profession. Also there is the contrast between Dietrich and his old friend Eduard Wohlfahrt, who has now become mayor and represents the world of the bourgeois with its lack of understanding for art. After seeing the play, Wohlfahrt has the actors driven from the city.

Dietrich himself loves his art above everything else in life and is willing to suffer any sorrow and mistreatment for its sake. It has ennobled him and shown him life in all its beauty and meaningfulness.

> Denn alles, was ich geworden bin, dank' ich der Kunst. Adlig hat sie mich gemacht und gross und gut und hat mir gezeigt, was in mir war, dass ich oft zitternd vor meinen Schätzen stand. (p. 15)

He has the dream of bringing art to all people, but he must suffer from the constant evidence that the gulf between the artist and the masses is so unbridgeable.

> Kunsthunger steckt in jedem Menschen, daran muss
> man ihn packen, um etwas mehr aus ihm zu machen
> als bloss ein Tier, das an zwei Ohren klebt.
> (p. 25)

Stefan Zweig's Der verwandelte Komödiant (1913) has a background of the rococo time, when actors were still regarded as a reprehensible class by general society but when they themselves were proud of their art as belonging to the world of aristocracy.

The play shows a young actor who for the first time experiences the exhilaration of the consciousness that he has compelling power over an audience.

> Jetzt hab ich erst verstanden
> Was dieses ist, ein Künstler sein: die Welt
> An ihren Angeln fassen können und
> Ihr dann den Schwung der eignen Kraft zu geben.
> (p. 45)

The countess also feels the joy of being able to conquer other people, especially just one, but the actor is not satisfied with that, he needs a vast audience. To have the people under the spell of his words is a pleasure which fills him with immense pride.

> Nun weiss ich es: ich bin aus dem Geblüt
> Der Edelsten der Welt, ich bin ein Künstler.
> (p. 50)

Illusion is exalted above reality by both the actor and the countess. As the latter says:

> Spielen ist schön: es füllt wie Traum die
> Stunden
> Und macht sie nicht gewichtig mit Erleben!
> (p. 59)

Schmidtbonn's Die Schauspieler (1921) idealizes the actors as bringing joy and beauty into a materialistic and soulless world.

It is a travelling troup of actors who have left

the city because the inhabitants there are too busy for people who devote themselves entirely to art. They feel that they have a mission: to bring beauty to the world, as priests of the realm of art.

> Wir bilden uns ein, so etwas wie Priester zu sein. Wir haben den Auftrag, den Menschen Freude zu bringen, die Menschen aufzurichten, die Menschen zu wecken. (p. 33)

The effect of the mere presence of these actors on a strange gentleman is salutary. He has become almost insane from a feeling of the emptiness of life, has become blasé from his experiences and has no faith. To one of the actresses he offers marriage and a life of luxury, but she prefers the hunger of the life of the theater, because she feels the urge of her mission. He must let her go, but he speaks with new energy as he envies them of their life of youth and warmth, for they may be the hope of the world.

> Wie reich sie sind, diese armen Schlucker! Könnte ich noch einmal jung mit ihnen ins Boot steigen! Ihr Verwehten, ihr Ausgeschleuderten, ihr Spreu im Wind, - vielleicht seid ihr, ja, ihr müsst sein die Saat Gottes. Damit die Welt nicht erfriere im Grauen. (p. 120)

Similarly, in Mohr's Improvisationen im Juni (1922), it is an actress who restores a melancholy and cynical young man to a belief that there is something yet that cannot be bought, in a materialistic world mad for money.

The exaltation of the world of illusion above reality is a characteristic of Neo-romanticism, and the illusory nature of the artist's experience of reality is the problem of impressionism. There are two different reactions in the actor as artist. He may suffer from the fact that he is shut out from reality or he may glory in the power he has upon other men. That is a reaction which the actor can experience more than any other artist except a musician, for he has an immediate relationship to his public.

The last two plays considered belong in the Expressionistic movement. The actor is here an artist with a divine mission in the world. Although the world may not receive him, he devotes himself completely to an ideal of truth and beauty in a cold, materialistic and cynical world.

The study of the actor brings us to the problem of the next chapter, namely, the conflict between art and life. Arthur Friedländer, in Der Fetisch, sacrifices love to art and cannot retrieve his loss. Leonie Hallmann, in Die Schauspielerin, longs for normal life and love but fails to find it because she is set aside from normal reactions by the very nature of her art. Kaiser's actor feels that he is completely shut out from reality except through his sister. Adalbert Ritter fails to find real happiness in normal life, for he can be nothing other than actor.

This separation of art and life reminds us also of Schnitzler's figures, Filippo Loschi, Julian Fichtner, and Stephan von Sala, where it is based upon the questionable nature of their experience and their innate weakness in the world of reality. This problem, however, is a traditional one and needs to be treated separately.

VIII. "ART AND LIFE"

The so-called conflict between art and life has been made the theme of quite a few "Künstlerdramen." This conflict is felt to be tragic by weak artists and never existed in that form for really great artists. Julius Bab calls it a product of weak romanticism and "romantische Hypochondrie."[1] Laserstein attributes the beginning of this idea of tragic conflict to E. T. A. Hoffmann, basing her conclusions on an analysis of some of his stories.[2]

Laserstein formulates the conflict in Hoffmann as between "Schaffen oder Besitzen," "Entbehren oder Geniessen" (p. 21). The conflict is solved untragically in "Die Brautwahl," for the painter is healed of his longing for love when it becomes possible for him to find fulfilment. He gives up the beloved and saves himself as artist. In "Der Artushof," the artist marries, but he realizes that to take physical possession of his wife would destroy the source of his art. The solution is again untragic, because the artist recognizes his fate. In "Die Jesuitenkirche in G.," however, the attempt to combine art and life ends tragically, by first destroying the painter as artist and then as man. In "Das Fräulein von Scudery" the goldsmith Cardillac becomes a destroyer of life because of the demonic nature of the artist.

Many plays have used this theme, and some of them are among the greater dramatic productions. Grillparzer's Sappho shows the artist, as woman, attempting to break through the bonds of her loneliness, which is a necessary result of her complete dedication to art. She fails to hold the love of Phaon and, having once left the bounds of art and failing to find the place in the real world she seeks, she chooses death as the only way out.

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1. Chronik des deutschen Dramas, II, 88.
2. Die Gestalt des bildenden Künstlers, pp. 20-24.

Ibsen's last play revives this theme and is influential on modern "Künstlerdramen." Professor Arnold Rubek, architect in Wenn wir Toten erwachen (1899) once had a model who had been to him his purest source of inspiration. Whatever stirrings of love he may have felt toward her he suppressed, because to touch her would have been to destroy him as an artist.

Irene, the model, has disappeared after the completion of his work, and then he feels that his profession as artist has become entirely empty. He turns aside from art to seek the pleasures of life, in sunshine and the beauty of nature, instead of the dampness of his studio (V, 519).[3] He has built himself a house and married a wife, but there he realizes his mistake. She has no understanding of his artistic nature. She is the means, however, of making Rubek realize that idle enjoyment is totally foreign to his nature.

> Menschen wie ich finden kein Glück im müssigen Genuss; das hab' ich allmählich einsehen gelernt. So einfach liegt das Leben nicht für mich und meinesgleichen. Ich muss ununterbrochen arbeiten - Werk schaffen auf Werk - bis zu meinem letzten Tag. (V, 520)

The longing for his former life of productivity is awakened, but only Irene has the key to his creative dreams. And then he finds her again. She had left him because he had taken her soul and put it into a work of art, because he had regarded her only as a model, because he had been only an artist and never a man (V, 526). Him she has hated, but the work of art she loves because they have put their life's blood into it. She has felt herself as a participant in its creation: "denn das war unser Geschöpf, unser Kind. Meins und Deins." (V, 527)

Rubek is ready to admit his weaknesses as a man and as an artist, but he is not ashamed. Whatever tragic lack of harmony may attend the profession of artist it is his inescapable mission in the world.

3. The references are to Ibsen, Sämtliche Werke (Berlin, 1911).

> Ich bin Künstler, Irene. Und ich schäme mich
> nicht der Schwäche und der Unvollkommenheit,
> die mir anhaften mag. Denn ich bin zum
> Künstler geboren, siehst Du. Und werde trotz
> allem auch nie etwas andres als Künstler
> werden. (V, 530)

Together, they wish to taste deeply for once the life which they have both missed, because it has gone into a work of art. Upon the top of the mountain under the sky they hope to find it, but a storm and an avalanche sweep them away to death. They who were already dead in life awaken to find that they have never really lived. (V, 527)

There is much in this play which must be interpreted in connection with Ibsen's own career as artist. Rubek, just as Ibsen, looks back upon a long period of production. Even though the career as artist has meant depriving him of a more immediate experience of life he knows that art is his only possible mission in the world. The longing for the fulfilment of his love has not left him, but it can only take place in death, when they both awake to find that they have not really lived in this world. It is quite clear that the art-life conflict is not a matter of abstinence or sensual enjoyment, it is connected with the roots of the artist's inspiration, with the woman whom he longs to possess but in whom he finds instead the source of a work of art.

Just as this problem has its inception in the earlier period of Romanticism, it is now taken up again in Neo-romanticism.

Such a play as Hofmannsthal's Der Tor und der Tod shows the importance of this theme in a typical production of the modern period. Not until the moment of death does the Tor realize that he has not really lived at all, that he has sacrificed himself to something artificial, that he has passed through life as across a stage.

> Wie auf der Bühn ein schlechter Komödiant -
> Aufs Stichwort kommt er, redt sein Teil und geht

> Gleichgültig gegen alles andre, stumpf,
> Vom Klang der eignen Stimme ungerührt
> Und hohlen Tones andre rührend nicht:
> So über diese Lebensbühne hin
> Bin ich gegangen ohne Kraft und Wert.
> (I, 151-152)

The lack of this problem in Naturalism is clearly understandable from the interest of the movement in the portrayal of the outer world and in social questions. It only illustrates the point if we find such a theme in Wir Drei (1893) by Rosmer, who has been shown to be a camp follower of Naturalism and Hauptmann. For here, when it is a question of deciding between art and domestic happiness, Richard Ebner, a writer with no great talent to begin with, willingly gives up his poetry.

> Alle unsterblichen Werke sind das kleine Grab da draussen nicht wert. Und wenn ich ein solches Werk in mir hätte - so soll's ungeschrieben bleiben. Ich hab' Anderes zu tun. (p. 103)

This is one form of untragic solution - art is itself given up. If the artist himself were great then the same result would be tragic. That is the case in Brann's Andrea del Sarto (1905), which is an adaptation of a play by Alfred de Musset. Through his marriage with Lucrezia, Andrea has hoped to crown his work of artistic creation. On the contrary, this love has destroyed him as an artist, and the desertion of his wife to one of his pupils leaves him only death as his salvation.

When art wins out in the contest over life, then there can be either an untragic or a tragic solution. If the artist recognizes the necessity of making the sacrifice and has enough strength and self-confidence to continue, then the tragic conflict is reconciled. If life is itself destroyed then there is tragedy.

Die Ehekünstler (1904) by Otto Erler, a university professor, is a rather weak example of the former type. Walter Herolt, painter, and Frieda Achilles, violinist, find it impossible to live together as man and wife because of their art interest. The sorrow of having

to separate makes them greater artists, which is some consolation.

Bodman's Donatello (1907) treats the problem more deeply and shows some Ibsen influence.

Donatello, sculptor, longs for love and enjoyment of the life of normal people. Virginia, the poetess, feels the same longing, but doubts the possibility of its fulfilment without the sacrifice of art.

> Wie denkst du dirs, wenn wir einmal gesättigt
> am ödgewordnen Ufer der Erfüllung
> mit leeren Schalen sitzen, uns zurück
> nach unsrer Freiheit und den Wellen sehnen?
> (p. 54)

He finds it impossible to marry Virginia because she enters secretly into his workshop, which he considers a desecration of his sanctuary. Deciding that the fact that she is also an artist bars the way to any marriage between them, he turns to Maria, a refreshing girl from his home town of Carrara. Here he can find security in feeling, not the inspiration which he had found with Virginia. However, he marries Maria, only to be reminded before the consumation of the wedding night that this would mean the destruction of him as artist. Virginia, who has died of despair, is brought into the chamber on a white bier. He is compelled to give Maria up too, in order to continue as artist.

> Nun steh ich wieder draussen vor dem Gitter,
> kaum dass mein Fuss auf die Torschwelle trat.
> Ich suchte, seit ich fühlen mag, die Eine
> und musste dieses Herz an zwei verteilen.
> Dich, die ich aus Angst für meine Kunst geflohn,
> um dann in dir ein stilles Glück zu suchen.
> Nun stürzt mir auch der neue Bau zusammen.
> (p. 134)

Filippo Brunelleschi, a figure in the play, has already emphasized to Donatello the impossibility of combining love and art.

> Entweder
> du dienst der Liebe oder dienst der Kunst.
> (p. 74)

Jacopo Capponi interprets this conflict in his definition of art as "nur ein erstarrter Schrei nach Leben (p. 26).

Max Halbe's Blaue Berge solves the conflict in about the same way, and here we can see an even closer parallel to Ibsen.

It is interesting to find that Halbe, who began as a Naturalist, turns to such a Neo-romanticist theme, treating it in a manner suggesting Ibsen's play, perhaps because he felt that Ibsen, long regarded as a leader of Naturalistic drama, had given the correct answer to the problem.

Mühlenbruch, painter, is in despair because he has been a good Naturalist in attempting to reproduce just nature itself, only to find that nature has escaped him completely. And what is the reason for this? -

> Und warum? Weil sie rein von aussen gesehen sind! Weil ich mich mit Gewalt gegen alles Innerliche gesträubt habe! Gegen alles, was nach Sinn und Idee aussah! Dafür habe ich jetzt die Bescherung! (p. 33)

In his desire for inner experience in the fulfilment of love he comes upon the old conflict between art and life. He is ready to give up art to find life with Marianne Jordan, a model.

> Die Erfüllung ist das Leben! Und Leben geht über Kunst! Tausendmal über Kunst! (p. 110)

It is mere chance that they do not get to follow out their desire, for on the night that Marianne is to come to his studio, she is kept in her room by the police, because she is a friend of two swindlers, Muschinski and Pfefferkorn, who wish to establish a church and theater for the advancement of eroticism and immorality - real Wedekind caricatures. Mühlenbruch takes a walk, and comes to the conclusion that this was

a necessary sacrifice, for art after all is what he treasures most. Marianne, too, it seems, has a change of mind and states the conclusions for them both.

> Alle Künstler sind Halbnaturen! Wir müssen suchen und dürfen nicht finden! Wir müssen uns sehnen, immerfort sehnen, und dürfen niemals besitzen! (p. 163)

> Der Traum war schön! Aber wir hätten ihn mit unserem Besten, mit unsrer Kunst und darum mit unserem Leben bezahlt! (p. 164)

Mühlenbruch finds now that whereas life is fulfilment, art is longing for the "blue mountains."

Art is put above life, but the demonic nature of the artist causes the destruction of both in Kyser's Medusa (1910). The sculptor Daidalos thirsts for life and sensual enjoyment and is willing to give up his art for it. Frustrated in his wildly sensuous attack upon Medusa, the young and amorous wife of Prince Aristaios, he creates her statue, which he glorifies and embraces with the same sensuality. Aristaios, on seeing the statue, believes himself betrayed by his wife. He kills her, destroys the statue and sets fire to Daidalos' house. The sculptor throws himself into the blaze, willingly sacrificing himself for the sake of the work of art which has been destroyed.

Daidalos is like a mad man in this play. He is coarse and vulgar, sleeps with a toad and eats onions continuously. Walzel sees a strong Grabbe influence.[4]

The artist is a destroyer of life and ultimately of art in Raff's Der Zerstörer (1910). Giovanni has painted his wife Maria as a saint. Because he wants her to remain pure he does not touch her. Her sensuality is aroused and she wants him to take her. Lucrezia desires him also, but he overcomes her in a hard struggle and sends her away. When the wife appears in almost nude sensuality he murders her and is himself killed by Lucrezia's servants. Angelo, a pupil of Giovanni,

4. Die deutsche Dichtung seit Goethes Tod, p. 442.

inflamed in sensual love for Maria, destroys the picture of the saint.

The impossibility of the successful marriage of an artist is also the subject of comic treatment. Hermann Bahr's Das Konzert (1909) shows a wife who knows how to handle the artist husband who likes to slip off to a cottage in the mountains with some of his many women piano pupils - a concert trip. Gustav, the husband, excuses these little outings on the basis of his artistic temperament. Also he claims not to have any power of resistance in the matter; it is like a chess game once the first move has been made.

That art and love are not always incompatible is the conclusion of the comedy, Kammermusik (1913) by Ilgenstein. An opera singer has a wife who knows exactly how to manage her husband with all the necessary tact.

> Die Künstlerehe ist ganz wie jede andere Ehe. Aber die Frau muss es verstehen, den Künstler unermüdlich vom Gegenteil zu überzeugen. (p. 120)

Although the theme of the conflict between art and life seems to belong to Neo-romanticism in modern drama, it appears in a drama of Expressionism such as Kasack's Vincent (1924), but the solution is quite different in spirit.

This play brings into strong contrast the two artists Vincent van Gogh and Paul Gauguin. The latter is rationalistic, considering art as a luxury and decoration and seeking popularity in the world. He believes in enjoyment of life first of all. Van Gogh feels art as a compulsion from within to create the world anew (p. 29). It is a defense against life around him (p.30).

Van Gogh experiences the tragic loneliness of the artist and hopes to find the fulfilment of his longing for love in Frau Lenan Meunier. He sees her, however, in his ecstatic love as a madonna. Gauguin seduces her and she changes in van Gogh's mind from madonna to prostitute. Gauguin and van Gogh quarrel, and the former reminds van Gogh that it was necessary to save him from being destroyed as an artist - Gauguin being

merely a messenger of fate.

> Ihre Kunst drohte unterzugehen! Sie wollten sich einem Menschen verpflichten! Sie wollten sich den Ballast eines Frauenschicksals aufladen! Man kann aber nicht zween Herren dienen, wie Sie wissen! Man kann nicht der Kunst und den Menschen Opfer bringen! Sie haben Ihr Teil - - Ihr unsterbliches Herz durfte nicht sterblich werden! Zur rechten Stunde traf ich ein! (p. 90)

In his angry mood van Gogh attempts to kill Gauguin with a knife. Gauguin escapes, and then van Gogh realizes that Gauguin has only spoken the truth. In repentance, van Gogh cuts off his ear and gives it to Gauguin. Now he is ready to turn completely away from the world, for he finds all reality within himself.

> Nur Die Welt wird Wirklichkeit sein, die hier in dieser Brust verschlossen ist. Ich werde jetzt mit einem Selbstporträt beginnen. (p. 113)

Van Gogh's ecstatic mode of experience and his final sloughing off of his weak dependence upon an outside world make him an embodiment of Expressionistic ideals of an artist.

The problem of the conflict between art and life has found lasting form in several of the great plays of German literature. It is, however, a problem which appeals too readily to inferior authors. We have found here in the modern period several plays which use this theme, but few of them deserve to last. Ibsen's play belongs to world literature. Kasack's Vincent has a strong characterization of two important artists, and does not remain within the bounds of the mere art-life conflict. Bahr's Das Konzert is a good comedy, but it also does not draw its strength, or weakness, from this problem.

IX. BIOGRAPHICAL DRAMAS

The so-called artist-drama finds its greatest difficulty in making the artist figure credible. Drama depends upon the actions and spoken words for its effect, and it is a very difficult matter to show that a man is an artist by these means. The audience may not believe the person of the drama who merely says that he is an artist. Many artist-dramas therefore attempt to show a painter working before an easel, or a sculptor with a chisel in his hand, or a poet writing in a moment of inspiration. On the other hand, a great dramatist can make us believe in the artist by the inner force of his language and the very atmosphere in which the artist moves. This is illustrated very well by Hauptmann's Gabriel Schillings Flucht. Nowhere do we see Gabriel Schilling at work on a painting, but the manner in which he seems to blend so harmoniously with the background of sea and sand and nature makes us believe that he is real and belongs there, as a man sensitive to his surroundings and able to give his sensations a form in art.

Another means of making the artist believable as such is to choose an historical person from among the great artists of the past. In making such a choice the author presumably feels an intimate attraction to the artist he selects. It is, therefore, very interesting to see just what artists are chosen as figures of drama.

It soon becomes evident that most of the dramas about historical artists are products of Neo-romanticism. We have seen already how a wave of such plays comes about 1805, with figures from the Renaissance. In this period of history the Neo-romantic authors found the freedom from restraint and the love of beauty which was their ideal. The influence of Gobineau and, earlier, of Nietzsche and Burkhard has already been suggested.

The Italian Renaissance is represented already in the artist-drama of Germany before 1890 by Karl Bleibtreu's Der Dämon. The assembly of the artists, Rafael, Leonardo and Michelangelo at the court of Cesare Borgia, and the participation of these men in the

intrigue of the court, which includes Machiavelli, suggests that this play may have been under the direct influence of Gobineau's work (1877), which does the same thing. In Bleibtreu's play, the three artists appear as heroes who deserve a place alongside the men of action. Michelangelo, in one scene, stands proudly and unafraid opposite the scheming Borgia and asserts himself as an equal or superior.

The Renaissance glorification of art is reflected in Hofmannsthal's Der Tod des Tizian, Thomas Mann's Fiorenza and Bodman's Donatello. To these we add Brann's Andrea del Sarto, which treats the problem of the artist's destruction through love and marriage.

The English Renaissance is represented already in 1884 in Wildenbruch's Christoph Marlow. Marlowe is shown in the tragic position of a fore-runner of Shakespeare, finding himself superseded by the latter. Marlowe is here also a kind of romantic figure, a lone, melancholy adventurer, without restraint and control of his emotions.

Like the painters in Bleibtreu's Der Dämon, the poets here appear as heroes in the world of the spirit.

> Gebieter ist der Dichter
> Im Reich der Geister und der Menschenherzen -
> (p. 61)

Horn's Shakespeares Wandlung (1906) comes later and is concerned with a change brought about in Shakespeare by the attack of the Puritans. The background of Elizabeth's court is one of intrigue and unrestrained living, and the theater is treasured very highly by the members of the nobility.

The German Renaissance is represented by Klein's Veit Stoss (1912). Art is the transcendant interest of the play, which is built around the two figures of Veit Stoss and Albrecht Dürer.

Eduard Stucken's Die Hochzeit Adrian Brouwers (1914) represents the Dutch Renaissance. Brouwer feels more at home among the prostitutes and thieves of a low-class wine tavern than in the home of his good, kind and

wealthy friends. They arrange for him to marry the lovely daughter of a leading family of the city, but he expresses impudent contempt for good society by appearing drunk and without pants at the wedding - to take his leave of the assembled guests.

From the Romantic period and the time immediately following, Kleist, Hölderlin, Grabbe, Büchner and Byron are the popular artist figures. There are two plays each about Kleist and Byron. The appearance of Grabbe and Büchner corresponds to a time of return to popularity of these two authors in the twenties. The cynical spirit and grotesque form of Grabbe's works found an appreciative reception from a generation accustomed to the horrors of war.[1] The revolutionary social spirit and the dynamic sensual force of Büchner was a source of strength to this generation which knew so much unrest.[2]

Heinrich von Kleist (1891) by Polenz portrays Kleist as seeking death from several reasons, failure to find recognition, especially from Goethe, doubts in his own poetic powers, and the impossibility of finding his place in society.

> In Gesellschaft ist mir stets, als sei ich in einen Raubthierkäfig geraten. (p. 28)

This latter motif, the poet as a misfit in society, is a Naturalisitc motif, and this play could be considered as belonging to the Naturalistic drama. Polenz was himself associated with the group.

Kleist (1920) by Friedrich Sebrecht emphasizes Kleist's love of his fatherland and his hatred against Napoleon. This insistence upon his mission of freeing Germany makes this drama activistic in spirit.

Walther Eidlitz' Hölderlin (1917) shows a lonely suffering poet, who feels all the suffering of the world within himself and can find no understanding or consolation from the outside. His only solace is that sometimes he can feel all the exaltation of being a poet.

1. See Bab, Chronik, V, 349-356.
2. See Bab, Chronik, V, 317-318.

> Ja, ich glaube manchmal ein Dichter zu sein. O wunderbar selige Stunden der Verklärung, des Schöpfens mit hohlen Händen aus der ewig sprudelnden Quelle, des Stehens hoch über jedem Land, jedem Volk, voll Mitleid mit jedem Menschen, der nichts weiss von meinem Glück.
> (p. 11)

Grabbe exhibits a similar pride in being a poet in Hanns Johst's Der Einsame (1917). Feeling likewise a tremendous disharmony within, he makes an outward show of strength in his disdain for bourgeois morality and his pessimistic questioning of all values. Still in the flush of excitement of artistic creation, having just finished his Napoleon, Grabbe cries out:

> Himmel und Erde wird Willkür meiner Gunst! Ich bin der Kosmos! Und ohne mein Wort und ohne die glühende Guirlande meiner Dichtung zerfällt dies alles - Geschichte, Vernunft, Gegenwart und Seele von tausend Gottesäckern zu wesenlosem Staube.
> (p. 5)

This ecstatic mode of expression and his feeling of having all elements of creation within himself give to Grabbe a strong expressionistic color.

Csokor's Gesellschaft der Menschenrechte (1929) presents Georg Büchner as leader of a group of men who wish to cast off the oppression of political tyranny. Study of the French Revolution convinces Büchner that their attempt would end in disaster, because the followers would not be able to comprehend fully the ideals of the leaders. Büchner, then, withdraws from the world of political activity in order to find some justification for his existence in writing his drama, Danton's Tod. This drama is a product of despair, but it is also a last grasp at meaning in life.

> Ja. nach unserem Ebenbild forme ich Menschen, doch ihr Atem ist Raserei, ihr Trieb vermählt sich dem Tode, ihre Gedanken entthronen Gott! Ich greife in eine riesige Wolke aus Blut,

> die mir zu zucken anhebt unter den formenden Fingern! Ich schaffe die Welt noch einmal im Werk, ja: ich hinfälliger verweslicher Mensch, ich, zwischen Nichts und Nichts schmale Vergänglichkeit. (p. 116)

This play, therefore, shows a turn from an activistic ideal of political revolution to an expressionistic will to create the world anew from the poet's breast. To be sure, the faith in God is lacking, and the individual attempt to rebuild the world has an uncertain support.

The two plays on Byron manifest a different spirit in each case. Karl Bleibtreu's Lord Byrons letzte Liebe (1889?) has an Italian background and the plot concerns conspiracies in connection with the Carbonari movement. Byron defends his defection from the movement by exalting the word as the poet's deed, for poetry is just as important as the work of heroes.

> Hier steh ich Prometheus, der das heilige Feuer stahl, und forme Gedanken nach meinem Bilde. Ich habe versäumt zu handeln, denn ich schuf. (I, 104)[3]

Byron's decision to go to the aid of the liberators of Greece appears here as a chance thought.

Max Brod's Lord Byron kommt aus der Mode (1929) represents Byron as the champion of the oppressed in the English Parliament, thus coming into conflict with the aristocratic society of the day. His decision to go to Greece is here a natural consequence of Byron's idealistic defense of the downtrodden.

This play represents the opposite spirit from the Büchner drama of Csokor. Whereas there we saw a turn from political activity to literature, here we have a turn from literature to the work of social revolution.

Goethe is not altogether neglected in the artist-drama. Otto Franz Gensichen wrote an Ilm-Athen

3. The reference is to Bleibtreu, Dramatische Werke (Leipzig, 1889).

(1910), in blank verse, which is concerned mainly with Goethe and Frau von Stein. Goethe appears also, and in a good characterization, in Ernst Lissauer's Eckermann (1921), which, as its title indicates, is concerned mainly with Eckermann. The latter gives up his love for a beautiful girl in order to devote himself to Goethe.

Georg Kaiser's Die Flucht nach Venedig (1923) begins with the dissolution of the relationship between George Sand and Alfred de Musset. Musset charges her with using their love affair as mere material for literature, a theme similar to that of Schnitzler's Literatur. Musset says:

> Was in Verzückung mich stumm machte und mir die Feder aus der Hand schlug wie ein giftiges Messer, das wurde dir Gegenstand sorgfältiger Feilung für ein Stück! (p. 28)

From the end of the nineteenth century, three men appear. Oscar Wilde, Vincent van Gogh and Arthur Rimbaud. These artists had caught the imagination of the world because of the unusual events of their lives.

That Carl Sternheim should have felt some kinship with Oscar Wilde is explained by himself in his introductory statement to the edition of the play, Oskar Wilde (1925). The love for the unusual and satirical and contempt for the bourgeois united them.

The basis of the play is the well-known trial of Oscar Wilde on charges of homosexual relations with Alfred Douglas and Wilde's death in Paris. Sternheim seems here to make claims for the exemption of the poet from the restrictions of moral and public law.

In his preface Sternheim proclaims Oscar Wilde to be one of three men of the nineteenth century who will live in the future, the other two being Heine and Van Gogh. Sternheim's designation of Goethe as a "Spiessbürger" is known.

Kasack's Vincent has already been discussed, and it contains a good dramatic situation in the clash of the temperaments of van Gogh and Gauguin.

Paul Zech's Das trunkene Schiff is a dramatization in the form of a "szenische Ballade" of the high points of Arthur Rimbaud's life. At seventeen Rimbaud had been one of the most famous poets of France. At twenty he had given up poetry in order to live a life of adventure and conquest in Africa. Such a figure excited the admiration of a generation which was dissatisfied with the confusion of the world, and which would like to find a new faith. This feeling had its part in the beginnings of the Expressionistic and Activistic movements, and this play may be considered as an expression of that feeling.

Rimbaud is brought to Paris by Paul Verlaine, but Paris and its Bohemian life do not satisfy him. He longs for the forest and natural surroundings. He rebels against the mechanization of life and the deadening effect of science and would proclaim the advent of a new era in which soul and spirit would rule supreme.

Many of these plays may have been intended as mere dramatizations of historical materials, but we can see in them many traits which suggest their relationship to the movements and currents of modern German Drama. In the first place, the Naturalists were not primarily interested in historical subjects. Hauptmann's Florian Geyer is, of course, a notable exception. Among the plays here considered, only that by Polenz shows any definite Naturalistic traits. On the other hand, Neo-romantic tendencies are seen in abundance. As in the earlier Romanticism, the turn to historical subjects was an avenue of escape from the present into a more beautiful past. It is characteristic that Neo-romanticism turns to artist figures from the Renaissance, from the Romantic period and from the "fin de siècle," for there are important connections between them and Neo-romanticism. Likewise, Hölderlin, Grabbe and Büchner appear in the expressionistic drama, for the modern poets felt the debt which they owed to those earlier spirits.

X. CONCLUSIONS

The majority of the artist-dramas belong according to themes in the world of Neo-Romanticism. The reason for this is the greater subjectivity of the Neo-romantic artists and their higher evaluation of art. The beginning of the movement was in Vienna, the home of Freud and the center of his school of modern psychology. The flight of the Neo-romantic artist from the world of reality, noted by Hermann Bahr as an observer of literary trends, and found especially in the plays of Schnitzler, means a weakening of the natural forces of life and an increased introspection. Such an introversion of the artist's feelings took on the marks of sickness and morbidity, under the influence of Nietzsche and modern psychology. The urge to self-portrayal lies in this subjective contemplation and in the glorification of art and beauty as the full justification of the artist's existence. The importance of this impulsion to self-revelation can be seen most clearly in the work of Thomas Mann, in which the relationship of the artist to himself and to the world is the principal theme.

The Neo-romantic concept of the artist is based, therefore, on the separation of the world of art from the world of reality, the affirmation of the value of the illusion in which the artist lives. This artist does not recognize any obligations to society. He associates with other artists in a Bohemian life which separates them from bourgeois reality and dullness. The actor becomes a favorite figure, because he has come to exist wholly in the world of the theater which he creates.

Just as the actor lives in a world completely separated from reality, and finds it impossible to re-establish the connection between the two worlds, so too does the Neo-romantic artist always fail to achieve any harmony with the real world through love. Such attempts may end in tragedy when a great artist is forced to sacrifice his art or to destroy the object of his love. On the other hand, the artist may be strong enough to

realize the necessity of sacrifice and continue as a great artist. Harmony is not attained by the Neo-romanticist.

Schnitzler and Hofmannsthal both belong to the Neo-romanticist group, but the emphasis is placed somewhat differently in the two. Schnitzler is concerned with the problematic nature of the artist, the impressionistic disintegration. His artist figures have no other connection with the real world than that of sensations and impressions. The problem is essentially tragic.

Hofmannsthal glorifies the artist as the creator of beauty. The artist is likewise subject to impressions and sensations but he has a divine mission of cultivating beauty and art in the world. This ideal is a force of integration which raises Neo-romanticism above the diffusion of Impressionism.

The Naturalistic group did not produce many artist-dramas. Their endeavor to reproduce reality without the intrusion of the artist's subjective feelings indicates an interest directed outward and not inward. The tendency of Naturalistic art to deal with social conditions produces two artist motifs. We have, on the one hand, the artist as a sociological worker as in Dreyer's Winterschlaf, and, on the other hand, the problem of the artist in conflict with society.

This latter theme is common to Hauptmann's artist dramas. It is tempting to say, however, that without Hauptmann there would have been very few artist figures in Naturalistic drama. The solution of the conflict between the artist and society in Michael Kramer is an expression of Hauptmann's own personal idealism. The ideals of art held by Michael Kramer and Heinrich have their especial significance in Hauptmann's own development. The idealistic traits inherent in Naturalism and the reecho of these themes of Hauptmann in Naturalistic drama have been pointed out.

Expressionistic drama has its subjective aspect also. The complete absorption of the artist in Der Bettler with his own destiny is an illustration. The

expressionistic type of artist has been characterized, however, as an artist with a mission. The emphasis on a message means that the attention of the artist is directed toward a realization of the mission in the world of reality. It is true, however, that if the artist wants to act immediately upon the world, he becomes an activist. The difference is that between genuine art and propagandistic art.

The expressionistic artist may be, then, very self-conscious, but in a feeling of his own importance, not of his weakness, as is the impressionist. The former is the case with Sternheim and Kaiser.

Besides the three main movements which were made the center of this investigation, we found also the movement of Decadence represented to some extent in Schnitzler and especially in Hermann Bahr's Die Mutter and the dramatic representations of the Boheme. Although it occupies no very great part in itself in the modern drama, its influence is seen in Neo-romanticism, in the increased valuation of the pathological.

The artist figures treated here can not, of course, all be forced into these classifications. Especially, in the attempts of authors to dramatize the lives of artists from the past there may be an objectivity achieved which need not correspond to any of the three categories. The characterization of van Gogh and Gauguin in Kasack's Vincent comes to mind.

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VITA

Ralph Stokes Collins was born at Ayden, North Carolina, November 1, 1910. After graduating from Ayden High School in 1926, he attended the University of North Carolina, from which he received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1930 and the Master of Arts degree in 1931. From 1930 to 1932 he was instructor in German at the University of North Carolina. In 1932-1933 he studied two semesters at the University of Munich, Germany. In 1933-1934 he studied at East Carolina Teachers' College. The following year he was teacher of French in the Charles L. Coon High School in Wilson, North Carolina. In the fall of 1935 he went to Maryville College as Associate Professor of French and German. The summers of 1936 and 1937 he studied at the Middlebury German Summer School. On leave of absence from Maryville College during the year of 1937-1938, he continued his graduate work in German at The Johns Hopkins University, where he completed his requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, which was awarded in June, 1938.